233, 166, 492 Bedouins MJ4

[For information pertaining to the Shammar and their pastoral activities, migrations, animal transportation, and the like, see 12: Glubb, MG1 Jordon, category 116, pp. 19-22.]

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia MJ1
Bedouin MJ4

to be seen all along the way. One large variety is about a foot and a half long, and its meat is esteemed a great delicacy by the Bedouins, who call it "the fish of the desert." Many smaller lizards are found, and a few birds. There are also tracks of a wolf to be made out occasionally, but that is a rare occurrence, as is also the sign of a fox. The lizards may be able to dig down far enough in their holes to reach damp soil, but certainly the gazelles must get their necessary water from the few plants that remain succulent and fresh in the summer months.

And there are people who live in that desert, not travelers only, but permanent residents. They live there not merely during the spring when there is a little rain, but the year around. How can men live in a country like that? The well is the answer. The little green vegetation to be seen in the spring when the meager rains come soon dries down, and the inexperienced eye of the stranger would scarcely find it. Nevertheless, it is sufficient for goats and camels and perhaps sheep to graze upon if wells can be found in addition where they can be watered every evening. So it happens that the most precious things in Arabia are the wells. Caravan routes may be crooked, but the reason is never far to seek. For three or four days camels can travel without a drop of water, but eventually they must drink like all the other animals in the world. Some parts of the desert which are richest in vegetation are quite deserted as far as human beings are concerned, and the reason is the same. In the summer when the thermometer may occasionally reach 135° at noon, it is no use to discover an area covered with abundant dry fodder. It is the well that is the essential thing. Wherever water can be secured, there men can live. It is not such a life as would be popular in

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all. There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh, where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his back affords the only method of transportation possible in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M34

where wells are somewhat close together and the for-
age of the country allows it, goats can be kept, but these
must be watered at least once a day. They furnish hair
for tent-cloth, and thus it is the goat that shelters the
Bedouin from the elements. In districts where forage
and water are still more abundant, sheep are raised,
chiefly for their wool or as articles of export. Mutton is
the favorite meat all over Arabia, and although for a les-
ser occasion goats or camels may answer, when a great
sheikh gives a feast, sheep are the animals slaughtered.

Much has been written, and justly, about the beauty
and the endurance of Arabian horses, but they are not an
economic asset. In Central Arabia a horse is a pure lux-
ury. Often in summer they must live on camel's milk
just as humans do. They are kept and treated as house-
hold pets and are very intelligent and affectionate. Their
only function is to furnish an aristocratic mount for
pleasure, for state occasions and for war. During part
of the year there is abundant pasturage for them, but
they are a luxury afforded only by the sheikhs and the
very rich and their number is small.

There are years in Arabia when the spring rains fail
partially or completely, and then the animals die by thou-
sands, or are driven to the nearest town to be sold for a
song. In such years starvation stalks abroad through the
land. Little children die because there is no food suit-
able for such tender stomachs, and the adults are even
more gaunt and thin than usual. The sheikhs are nearly
bankrupted by the number of poor they have to feed,
and the whole community waits and prays for more rain
the coming spring.

At the best the life of a desert Bedouin is one of a
poverty so bitter and deep that Westerners have little idea
of it. The entire outfit of a family could be bought for a
mere trifle.

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already settled, have resumed their nomadic mode of existence when political conditions permitted it. M. F. Jamali mentions a number of instances where fully settled tribes of Iraq turned semi-nomadic.[1] Joseph Ben-Yakovsky concludes[2] that certain families of the Tayaha tribe in the Negev seem to have descended from the settled population of Moab. A. Kamhoff states[3] that economic reasons forced settled families of southern Transjordan to form themselves into tribes and adopt the way of life best suited to desert conditions. Max Oppenheim mentions[4] that the powerful Howeitat tribe of Transjordan descended from merchants and peasants.

Classification of Nomads

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The constant changes of the social structure make a proper classification of Bedouin society extremely complicated.

Rosé divides[5] the nomadic population into the following groups:

a. Desert Bedouin who are the genuine nomads roving over the vast areas lying between the Syrian desert in the north and the center of the Arabian peninsula in the south, and who engage in camel-raising exclusively.

b. Steppe Bedouin who, in addition to camels, also keep large numbers of cows, sheep and goats, and wander in the steppe, nearer the cultivation.

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1. Jamali, 1934, p. 87
2. [illegible], 1946, pp. 99 - 100
3. Kamhoff, 1946, p. 18
4. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 251
5. Rosé, 1946, pp. 332 ff. 333 ff.

361 178 233 621 c. Semi-Bedouin who occupy a position between Bedouin and Fellahin. They are already engaged in agriculture. While they still live in tents, they ultimately turn to the construction of permanent huts and houses.[1]

Müller introduces the following classifications:

1. Bedouin Tribes

361 233 a. Camel tribes, so called because they engage primarily in camel-breeding although they possess flocks of sheep. They are the true Bedouin of Syria, all belonging to The Aneseh and Shammar groups.[2] Their mobility enables them to maintain a 600 - 800 kil. radius of migration. They wander in the desert from September till late in June when they return to the border of the cultivated zone in order to trade their surplus livestock and purchase necessary supplies. They do not display the least interest in entertainment.[3] X [166]

b. Sheep tribes, so called because they are chiefly preoccupied with intensive sheep-raising. The need for water for their animals restricts their wandering in time and in space. Early in the spring, before the

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1. Müller, 1938, pp. 96 sqq.
2. The study of V. Müller is based on his observations of tribal life in Syria.

186 3. This statement was made by V. Müller in 1938. It seems highly questionable that within 14 years the opinion among the true Bedouin should have changed so radically to enable Fawaz Sha'lan, Chief of the Ruala, to declare that "all the tribesmen now wanted land" (for settlement) cf. New York Times, September 6, 1952. Even changing circumstances have never had such an effect on the conservative mentality of the Bedouin, and it seems, therefore, that the declaration of Sha'lan, made for political reasons, must be taken with a note of caution.

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excessive heat sets in, the sheep tribes come back to the cultivated zone. Frequently their radius of movement does not exceed a dozen of miles. The members of the sheep tribes are in regular contact with the settled population and practically all of them evince more or less an interest in settlement. 361 233 166

2. Semi-Sedentary Tribes

While the semi-sedentary tribes continue to breed livestock, they are already attached to the soil which they cultivate. 361 233 241

Part of the tribe engages in cultivation, while the other tends to the flocks. After the season of ploughing and sowing is over, the tribe gets on the move in search of pastures, leaving behind only the necessary number of men for guard and irrigation duties. Early in spring the semi-sedentary come back to their fields. Right after harvesting they begin sowing the summer crops. They spend the winter and spring in tents; during the summer they live in huts which they make out of trunks and branches of trees. Village settlement is a rare exception.

3. Sedentary Groups

This group is the least numerous and important. The members live in towns and villages like settled people with the difference that they still retain their tribal character. 361

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221 wandering area. The radius of migration is determined by:

a. the strength of the tribe

b. the supply of water and grazing areas within the ~~area~~

c. the amount and type of livestock reared by the group

d. the relationship of the tribal unit to the soil

Weaker tribes are not free to move over extended areas for fear of being exposed to attacks by more powerful tribes. Their wandering territory is limited and usually in the vicinity of the cultivated land.

221 233 The true desert Bedouin of Arabia, pre-occupied exclusively with camel-breeding, [1] is in a position to cover great distances due to the mobility of the camel. As sheep and goats enter the economic life of the Bedouin, the radius of migration has to be reduced since the unit has to remain close to watering places.

Further restrictions occur when occasional cultivation forces the nomad to stay in the vicinity of the land which he has tilled.

Historical migrations

174 Besides the wanderings of the nomads in annual cycles to satisfy the grazing needs of their herds and flocks, there were in history great eruptions which occurred sporadically [2] and

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1. The definition of a true Bedouin is according to Tawvia Abbasnaia: a nomad who is engaged in camel-breeding exclusively and who traces his descent from certain tribes recognized as true Bedouin (cf. Abbasnaia, 1946, p. 236). The Bedouin looks down on the sheep and goat nomad who is bound to sources of water. The restrictions and migratory rules are according to Bedouin psychology an interference with personal freedom. At present, exclusive camel-breeding is rare except in Arabia.
2. Arnold Toynbee has set up 600 year cycles for the occasional nomadic eruptions. (cf. Toynbee, 1939, pp. 398 ane.)

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361 settlement of the nomads. The economic crisis may be temporary, till
166 adjustments within the nomad economy have been carried out. The
178 need for the camel has declined, but the importance of the sheep and goats has remained unchanged. Sheep and goats supply the people of the area with meat, dairy products and wool.

In fact, the suggestion may be ventured that in the near future the importance of the pastoral economy will considerably increase when the Arab masses will change to a healthier, more balanced diet which presently lacks vital protein elements.

According to Epstein the transition from nomadism to agriculture is made urgent by the unprofitability of camel-breeding, stoppage of raiding(heretofore a source of revenue), and the partitioning of the Syrian Desert. While these phenomena undoubtedly had serious repercussions in the Bedouin world, they do not seem to be chiefly responsible for the disintegration of tribal society and pastoral economy.

CHAPTER VI

233 The Camel Economy of the Nomads and Recent Changes
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In the past the economy of the Bedouin was principally based on camel-breeding. With the construction of railways in the Middle East and the introduction of the automobile in the desert, the value of the camel declined rapidly and substantially. Prices

59: Neubert S-4 (no date) 1952 MI Middle East
BEDOUINS MI-4

slumped from LP 20 before the First World War to LP 4-5 or even less in the thirties.[1] 233 178

> "Prior to the war there were good markets for Iraq's camels in Syria, Turkey and Persia, in addition to the large numbers required for transport purposes in Iraq itself. Since the war, many railways have been constructed throughout the Middle East and the road systems of all countries have been greatly extended and improved. These roads are now all served by a large and increasing number of motor cars and lorries which have to a great extent taken the place of camel transport, thus practically removing the income to the Bedouins from their sale of camels." [2] 233 178 439

There was in the past a substantial demand for camel's meat, particularly in Egypt. But figures show that the import of camels into Egypt declined sharply since the end of the First World War. The import of camels into Egypt averaged prior to World War I (1909-1913) [3] 137 per year, in the post-war years up till 1937 only 28 [3] 137. Figures and statements of observers indicate that the Egyptian camel market has contracted considerably since the end of the First World War. Although there has recently been a rise in consumption of camel's meat in Egypt, [4] the camel industry has lost its importance.

A classic Bedouin country such as Transjordan exported in 1929

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1. Statistik, 1937, February
2. Oriental Record, 1932, p. 189
3. Statistik, 1939, p. 177
4. The number of camels slaughtered in public slaughtering houses amounted to:

13 082	in	1944
10 138		1945
27 818		1946

cf. Annuaire, 1947, p. 137

BEDOUINS MJ4

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only 3 437 camels,[1] and within a short time this trade became so insignificant that since 1937 camel export figures were no longer listed in official statistical abstracts. Although 40 000 nomads of Transjordan are classified as full Bedouin, they cannot possibly live on camel-breeding. The following figures will show the dwindling camel stock in Transjordan:

1927	13 800	2)
1929	33 500	2)
1935	3 400	2)
1943	4 000	2)
1948	2 500	3)

Figures are probably underrated as information on animal holdings was furnished for taxing purposes, but they indicate the trend.

The decline of camel trade and the slump in market prices have severely hit the camel-breeding Bedouin. Transjordan was selected as an example, but the same phenomenon is apparent among the nomads of Syria and Iraq.

Changes within the pastoral economy

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The camel Bedouin moving from the Arabian desert into the lands of the Fertile Crescent will sooner or later become a sheep nomad. This transformation has been going on for centuries, long before the decline of the camel market made it necessary. The change was in the past an adaptation of the pastoral economy to

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1. Epstein, 1935, p. 180
2. International Yearbooks of Agricultural Statistics for 1938/9 and 1940/41
3. Final Report, 1949, Part II, p. 10

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the natural conditions of the environment, while in recent years it has also been an adjustment to economic circumstances.

The type of animal industry is determined by geographic factors and climatic conditions. In Iraq "in many parts of the alluvial lowlands, terrain is too soft and swampy, so that those animals (camels) are few outside the steppes."[1] Syria, especially the northern part, where rigorous winters frequently occur, is not an ideal region for camel-breeding while in parts of the Arabian desert sheep and goats cannot survive.

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The profitability and the increase of sheep and goat rearing is apparent from the following Transjordan export-trade figures:[2]

	1937	1939	1941	1943
goats	6 988	7 657	32 638	31 041
sheep	12 064	37 896	56 735	52 487

While the camel trade declined, the sheep and goat business has been constantly rising.

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Mr. Epstein states[3] that sheep raising is more lucrative when practiced in permanent settlements which do not have to fear losses incurred as result of inter-tribal raiding. With the establishment of Public Security, however, raids have practically ceased, and the desert has been made secure. Today, throughout the area the animal industry is largely in the hands of the nomads.[4]

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1. Fisher, 1950, p. 362
2. Konikoff, 1946, p. 112 Table 16
3. Epstein, 1936, p. 228
4. In Iraq the breeding of sheep is practiced almost exclusively by the nomadic population, cf. Royal Institute, 1950, p. 259

361 433 The pastoral people are fulfilling an important economic function by:

a. supplying the home markets with essential products, and

b. furnishing valuable export articles.

237 439 Iraqi wool is considered of good quality and finds a ready market in the United States of America and in continental Europe for carpet manufacture.[1] In 1947 Iraq exported 2714 tons of wool at I D 372 349.[2] In 1946 and again in 1948 the wool export was about three times that of 1947.[3] Syria exports products like wool, butter, hides, etc.

● 233 361 433 The following statements will illustrate the valuable contribution which the nomads are making to the general economy:

"The Bedouin are experts in the breeding of livestock and form a class who afford a valuable contribution to the economic life of Transjordan." 4) "Their (Bedouin of Iraq) occupation of raising livestock is vital to the economy of the country." 5) "Syria cannot afford to lose the meat, milk and wool which are derived from the harvesting of the desert herbage." 6)

Thus in all the countries of the Fertile Crescent, livestock breeding, the primary occupation of the nomad population, appears to be an essential and lucrative industry.

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1. Gamble, 1949, p. 20
2. Ibid. p. 13
3. Data Book, 1952, p. 40
4. Bayert, 1938, p. 318
5. Jarad, 1945, p. 7
6. Report of the United States-Syrian Agricultural Mission, 1947, p. 23

educational needs of the tribes. 000

This policy[1] aimed at introducing improvements into the Bedouin mode of living without changing it. 178 185

Some of the sheikhs made serious attempts to settle the tribesmen on their estates. The Haddidyin began in the 30's to cultivate on the estates of their sheikh.[2] Rakan, the sheikh of the Shu'a, has been consistently trying to make the members of his tribe engage in agriculture.[3] 622 429 166X

Apart from minor successes the attempts of sedentarization were largely premature. While economic changes and a taste for modern living induced a great number of the sheikhs to abandon nomadism and settle down, the majority of the tribesmen preferred to continue their pastoral activities and their traditional migrations. Even economic disasters in the desert did not appreciably accelerate the pace of their sedentarization.

In 1928, for example, the Syrian Bedouin lost 30 - 40 per cent of their animals in the wake of inclement weather conditions. 1931/32 was also a season of exceptional drought when certain tribes lost 30 per cent of their camels and 80 per cent of their sheep.[4] The desert was strewn with animals that died of hunger. The critical situation among the tribes prompted the French Mandatory Government[5] to encourage the nomads to settle down to an agricultural life. Fertile land and implements were freely dis- 233 1424 166X

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 298
2. Ibid., p. 89
3. Report, 1931, p. 98
4. Report, 1932, p. 91
5. The French High Commission maintained a special tribal service

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423 general. The idea of encouraging small and medium landholdings was incorporated in the new Syrian Constitution of 1950.

578 427 659 In the summer of 1951 violent clashes occurred in Syria between tenants and the agents of the big landlords, a development which testifies to the tenseness of the situation. Angry complaints were voiced in the Syrian Parliament against the government which does not challenge the encroachment on State domains by the rich landowning families, and it was alleged that in the Jezireh tribal sheikhs connive with them by leasing away land on which the tribesmen enjoyed traditional grazing rights.[1]

Failure to make provisions for adequate conditions of land holdingstends to retard tribal settlement. The enactment of sweeping land reforms, however, cannot be envisaged so long as the few, but powerful, land-owning families control the administration, and make even the allocation of State lands to small owners difficult.

Hashimiyy Palestine

162 361 Since World War I there have been no true Bedouin in Palestine, only semi-nomads. In the 1930's 47 9% out of the 6' 5% nomads of Palestine[2] were encamped in the Beersheba district of the Negev, the rest scattered in the other parts of the country.

361 233 The tribes of Beersheba are the Tarabin, Tayaha, Azazme,

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1. New York Times, August 13, 1951
2. Report of 1931 census of Palestine

68: Neubert S-4 (no date) 1952 M1 Middle East
PALESTINE. BEDOUINS MJ4

Jabarat, Hanajra and the Sukhlyin. Until recently these nomads were chiefly engaged in sheep and goat rearing, while camel-breeding has been progressively abandoned.

Already in the 1930's all the Beersheba tribes were in an advanced stage of the process of transition to permanent settlement. While before the First World War the Negev Bedouin depended almost exclusively on stock-breeding, in 1931 42 868 of them declared cultivation, and only 5 113 animal rearing, as their chief source of livelihood.[1] [2]

This development was the result of a series of economic factors: the decline of the camel market,[2] successive years of drought and famine in the Negev,[3] the increased value attached to land in the wake of Zionist land purchases and the ready market that agricultural produce found in the growing Jewish settlements.

Many Bedouin began to attend to cultivation in a more regular fashion although they remained for the time being semi-nomads wandering with their flocks except for the seasons of sowing and harvesting.

The sheikhs and more prominent members of the tribes began

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1. Report of 1931 census of Palestine
2. This loss was largely compensated by breeding other types of livestock.
3. More than half of the years 1871 - 1929 were seasons of drought. The war years 1914-18 constituted a continuous period of famine the severity of which the Negev had not experienced prior to the war. cf:

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BEDOUINS MJ4

Economic

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The Pastoral economy of the Bedouin [1] has been seriously affected by the rapid development of the area. Former pasture lands are increasingly brought under cultivation with subsequent restriction of tribal grazing areas.

Although an exaggerated significance has been attached to the effects of the declining demand for the camel, this factor has dealt a severe blow to the economy of the true desert Bedouin who subsisted in the past exclusively on camel-breeding.

Social

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Tribal society has progressively disintegrated as the result of the sheikh's emergence as a big landowner. The interest which tribal leadership displays in agricultural life, is bound to influence the thinking and acting of the tribesmen. Sooner or later, they will follow the examples set by their sheikhs and settle down.

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1. The statement of Alfred Bonne that "the term Bedouin economy is a contradiction in itself" and that "this economy is no economy in the accepted sense of the word" (Bonne, 1945, p. 36) may be exaggerated because the nomads make a valuable contribution to the economy by:
   a. profitably utilizing the scanty patches of grass that grow for fleeting moments over widely separated stretches of desert area, a resource which would remain otherwise exploited
   b. by supplying the people of the area with their needs of meat, wool and dairy products
   c. producing for local industry and export trade items like wool, skins, hides, and live animals and their edible produce.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

XXIV

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

101 361 ● 233 LUCK FAVOURED US in eluding the vigilance of the French on our second attempt to reach the grazing grounds of the Tai' Bedouins under their *sheykh*, Muhamed Abd-er-Rachman at-Tai'.

His great camp spread out in a verdant valley, threaded by a long chain of rain pools. The snow-covered mountain ranges of Kurdistan, stretching beyond the Turkish frontier, formed a picturesque background. Camels and great flocks of sheep grazed over the desert, which recent rains had turned into rich pasture. Dotted about in groups were the black tents of the Bedouins. A horseman came to meet us. A foal, so it seemed in the distance, pranced round its mother, but as the rider drew nearer, we saw that the playful creature was a tame gazelle. The Bedouin rode a magnificent mare, that pranced on her feet like a dancer.

574 609 "Where is the abode of our host who will receive us?" I enquired. He pointed to the black outline of the largest tent, which showed from behind a ridge some distance away.

"Ha-wallah—by God—there dwells the Generous One!" He looked us over for a moment, then greeting us curtly, turned his horse and galloped away, the gazelle after him.

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins W154

hands and feet in a man,—in fact, his whole appearance was arresting.

For a Bedouin, he had an unusually pale complexion, set off by a brilliantly black beard and raven locks. He preferred to dress almost entirely in black. His Arab head-cloth, sandals, and soft camel-hair cloak were black, as well as the wide shawl wound round his waist. Even his mare was black, a rare thing, for most Bedouins hold black horses in disfavour. Headstalls, halter, saddle, and saddle-cloth—all were black, relieved only by delicate silver embroidery and a few silver ornaments. His silver-hilted sword, too, was carried in a black scabbard.

Sheykh Tai' was vain. He loved arms and horses, but above all he adored his little son, Farhan. According to Ali, he had not much affection for his wives, who were reputed to be beauties; but he was proud of them as he was of all his possessions—his great herds and extensive lands.

The Tai's Bedouins kept relatively few camels, but large numbers of sheep and goat, which suffer much from the depredations of wolves in winter and spring. Sheykh Tai' told me that these nimble-footed robbers from the inaccessible retreats of the Turkish Mountains had come down again into the snow-free lowlands. They had already attacked exposed Bedouin camps and caused great damage, although the watchful herdsmen had been continually on guard.

Sheykh Tai' was, like Nimrod, a "great hunter before the Lord", and liked nothing better than to be riding abroad. On the eighth evening after our arrival, he

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait MI
Bedouins 1434

lord of all the tireless killer "Petrol"—the Shaikh's own hawk, who has been known alone to kill as many as twelve birds in one day. (See Chapter XXVIII.)

Salim, my man, has taken three days to get to Azraf'an wells, with his wife Amsha, his charming daughter Hussa, his sister Maneira, and other members of his household. He has already sent for his sheep from the Suda region in Hasa, where they have summered under the care of Farej and Falih, both of the 'Awazim tribe. Great is the rejoicing, for thirty-six lambs have been born, with more to follow by the end of October. The flock has been nearly doubled since the previous Spring. Better still, fifteen of the lambs are males, which will be killed on suitably festive occasions. Mutlaq, the Dhafiri, in charge of the camels (fourteen of them) reports the animals' condition to be perfect, in spite of the long summer in the Huzaim 'and Suda regions. He himself has just come in from Riyadh with Salim. They went to see how the head of the family, Ibrahim al Muzaiyin (late standard bearer to the great Mubarak of Kuwait, and now with Bin Sa'ud) is faring. Salim now writes in to say that the "Gunnul's" camp is pinched and all is ready for him to come out—"Gunnul" (Consul) is the name given locally to the Political Agent.

On the 11th November I pack up what remaining goods and chattels have to be taken, such as *dushaks*, *mutrahs*, *shaddad* and *gullows* (mattresses for guests, cushions to lean on, camel saddle with full sheepskin cover and bright-coloured Persian rugs), and I order the worthy Sālih, my Najdi driver, to convey me to my camp. Already my wife's she-camel Fatha, of the famous 'Umaniyah breed, has gone ahead, also Naidi, Farhan and the sweet-tempered Jarsa—my two horses and mare respectively. The last is a present from 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud, the Great King, and she has been named after the famous grey mare of the late Faisal al Duwish—slain by the order of his wife Amsha when that great chieftain surrendered to the English in 1930 at Jahrah. My wife and I were with her when the deeply touching deed was done.

As I am going the next day down to the Hasaim district and Wafra in the Neutral Zone, I take Sa'ud bin Nimran with me and his hawk, also Jawad, my personal servant. News has arrived that the Birzani, Ibn Shaja'an, one of Bin Sa'ud's patrol leaders, with twenty men in

H. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins 1478

Dawn in Camp

tired and dozed off again. Again I woke, and again I dozed off, till the barking of the dogs became a sort of rising and falling echo in my tired and sleepy brain. Once I heard the camels, which were kneeling close behind Salim's tent, jump up in alarm and bolt 50 yards, but the reassuring voice of Salim calmed them, and I dropped off to sleep again. Presently I heard him shouting: *Ya Nasir, shuwu illi khawif al hil?* (Oh Nasir, what frightened the camels?). *Ma'alu shai*, came the reply (Nothing at all). I went on dozing the night long, hearing many and strange sounds, but too tired to move. It is always thus, my first night with my Badawin friends; I cannot sleep. Before dawn I heard Salim calling to prayer, and shortly afterwards, though it was still very dark, the goatskin of milk, rocked by one of the women to make curdled milk (*laben*) and butter, started its song. Rug-rug-rug-rug, the skin protested, and yet again, Rug-rug-rug. It was the old sound I knew so well, and it gave me a strange feeling of homeliness and comfort. They were awake before daylight, these simple people; they never seem to sleep—they also had prayed, and now they were watching for the dawn.

Presently I heard the shepherds calling their flocks of sheep together, and the camelmen talking to their camels. Both sheep and camels had slept in the open in front of Salim's and Dhuwaihi's tents, the ewes close to their young. *Hirr, hirr*, cried Falih, as he started calling the mother sheep to feed their lambs, before going out to graze for the day. The lambs all began to bleat at once, it was the hour of their morning meal. After this they will get nothing till nightfall, so they must drink now deep and well. Presently, with the first glimmer of dawn the daily counting of the sheep began. Alu! a cry, "Ya Salim, there are two short. Come quick, a ewe and a lamb are missing." A hurrying of feet, then eager talking. A further cry, "A wolf, it is a wolf". "A wolf has done this in the night." From right under their noses, a he- and she-wolf had clearly visited the camp and carried off the animals in the dark. A quick cast round and the enemies' pug-marks were found. The he-wolf had cleverly given the watch-dogs his scent on the side from which the wind was blowing, and as soon as the dogs had rushed after him into the night his cunning spouse had crawled close up to the tents on the other side, much as a cat crouches and creeps after a mouse (except that the wolf seems

L Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

233 to drag its belly along the ground in doing so, if its tracks in the sand indicate anything) and had dragged away in silence two sheep, one full-grown and one a lamb. There had been no sound in the night. They explained that a sheep gets so frightened if seized by a wolf that it cannot cry out, only a goat cries, and the wolf avoids goats accordingly.

It was daylight now, and I got up and examined the spoor of the wolves myself. They were clearly to be seen on both sides of the camp. The male with its big tracks to the north, and the female with her smaller footmarks to the south. The female must have snatched the lamb from right inside the tent, for the woollen loop which fastened the lamb's neck was found broken, and the wolf's spoor was actually inside the tent. Other tracks showed that the she-wolf had made two visits, one to carry off the full-grown sheep, and one to carry off the lamb. We followed up the tracks at once in the hopes of saving one of the animals. We were too late. We found the fresh bones of ewe and lamb two miles from camp. Nothing but the bigger bones and some clumps of hair were left. It was a sad party which returned to camp. The loss cast a gloom over my friends. Two sheep had gone, two good sheep. There was nothing to be done. It was no use blaming the shepherds; the work had been cunningly and boldly done. One shepherd was actually awake, sitting over a small fire, on guard among the sleep themselves. So stealthily had the wolf come, so quiet had been the terror-stricken sheep, that he had heard nothing beyond the barking of the dogs.

"Nay, O Abu Sa'ud, it was written that they should die this night", said Anuba, when I tried to condole with her on the loss. "Indeed two others were carried off the night we arrived. The wolves are very hungry here, but we shall be avenged, Ya Abu Sa'ud, never fear, we shall be avenged."

235 It was full day once more. I prepared to leave for Wafra with Sa'ud, my hunter. Once more the little camp is astir and busy. My car is got ready, my lunch, cooked to a turn, is brought out of the women's tent, and tightly packed away in the tin saucepan and firmly covered. For water we depend on the filled leather goatskin tied on the near 236 running-board. We are off, Saleh, my driver, Sa'ud and myself, the first two in front of the car and I behind with coats, lunch, rifles,

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait MI1
Bahrain MI4 Saudi Arabia MI1

An Ugly Customer

bandoliers, shot-guns and bags of cartridges. Half an hour later a shout from Sâleh, and I see a bustard (*hubara*) running along the ground 100 yards off. It crouches immediately. Thinking there was no game there, Sa'ud had not unhooded his hawk. He does so now. We descend and I walk up to the bird. Up he gets, and with my right barrel I drop him some 30 yards away. He is only wounded, but mortally. Kabrit, the hawk, is after him like a flash and pounces before his victim has time to run a yard. Kabrit does his work well, and so does Sa'ud. The bird's throat is soon cut, the hawk given a small taste of its left breast, and friend *hubara* finds its way into the capacious bag produced from nowhere by Sa'ud. Three more birds we spot and kill before reaching Wafra. That is all we see. Each gave good sport, and a final difficult shot. I was successful each time, and Kabrit well fed and duly pleased with himself.

The road was shocking, actually there was not even a track, and the dry summer had made the *shawwaw* hummocks and *'arfaj* bushes stiff and hard with no give at all in them. Bump, bump, bump, we went, over hill and dale, for six solid hours. At rare intervals we found flat open ridges, free from bushes. We made for them and got a few hundred yards' good going. I took the seacoast route, and struck inland 20 miles south of the Ras al Zor. This was unknown country to me, and I took it against the advice of the worthy Sa'ud. "You will find no game and win only sore bones that way", he warned me, but my British obstinacy won the day.

We reached Wafra at 12.30 p.m. and found Bin Sa'ud's patrol under the dour and rather fanatical Ibn Shaja'an, an unpleasant man of the type so often found on the Sa'udian frontier. Plenty of wind in the head, scarcely civil and, according to report, notoriously cruel. He had come up from Hufuf, he said, by Bin Jiluwi's orders, to get in touch with Captain Papworth, R.E., the R.A.F. Survey Officer who was to revise the map of Kuwait and survey the Neutral Zone. This was a pretext. His obvious reason was to hunt down certain poor 'Awazim tribesmen who had evaded the King's call to arms for his coming Yamen campaign. I made Ibn Shaja'an give me a cup of coffee and some nasty tea, and told the man that the Survey Officer would not require his services seeing that he had both guard and guides from the Shaikh of Kuwait. Ibn Shaja'an did not appear over-

h Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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619 341 *dirah* a small township as a sign that the whole tribe had embraced Wahhabi-ism, and abandoned its old ignorant and roaming existence.

193 312 288 The territin included in the Mutair tribal *dirah* consists of part of the sandy *Dahana* region in the south, the rocky and broken *Sawamir* and *Wijiya* regions in the centre, and the steppe-like tablelands of the *Mujdair—Qara'a-* and *Muswwar* regions in the north.

The whole *dirah* is a choice and good one, and *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh*, the mainstay of camels and most perfect of all grazing for these animals, are to be found in plenty when the rainfall is good.

This Mutair *dirah* is approximately 120 miles broad by 180 miles long, and may be taken as a typical example of an average tribe's homeland. There are, of course, other tribes who own larger and more extensive areas, but then scarcity of water and poorer grazing has compelled them from earliest times to seize and hold these bigger blocks of land. For in actual fact a tribe does not want a larger tract than is sufficient for its needs. So if a tribe's country is rich in water and all forms of grazing, all it requires is an area as big as that of the Mutair.

341 619 The tribes surrounding the Mutair, who own *dirahs* similar to theirs, are as follows:

The 'Awazim and 'Ajman on the east and south-east.

The Sbei and Sahul on the south.

The Harb, Shammar and Dhafir on the west, and Kuwait territory on the north, which in olden times, and before boundaries of western conception were introduced, all belonged to the Mutair, except for the narrow coastal strip which was included in the 'Awazim *dirah*.*

619 221 A tribe does not, of course, remain always isolated in its own *dirah*. If rains are good and grazing is plentiful, it naturally stops at home, but if rains fail it must migrate to places where grazing exists, and so overflows into the territories of its neighbours. It cannot, of course,

* It should be realized that there are two other great groups of the Mutair tribe, extending from Al Qasim in the centre of Arabia to near Medina in the Hijaz. They are known as the Beni 'Abdillah Mutair, and Mayasan, and in numbers and strength are perhaps superior to their cousins the Ibna and Beith described above. The whole tribe, of course, is one, and though the Beni 'Abdillah have their own powerful Shaikhs, they will all follow the standard of Al Dowish the hereditary Shaikh who resides at Artawiyah.†

† For the names of the Mutair, 'Awazim and Shammar Shaikhs see Appendix II. A map of the Mutair Tribal *dirah* will be found at the end of the book.

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Bedouins MJH

Horrors of Summer

THE ANNUAL MOVES

212. 241 285 192 221 During the summer months, i.e. June, July, August, September and half October, the Badawin world of North-East Arabia concentrates on its wells (*grillāt*), which in each case are groups of wells lying close together and in number anything from five to fifty. Here they camp (*igaiyarkun*), their tents close together, their herds of camels and sheep grazing in close proximity, for the animals now have to be watered daily. Here the weary and long agony of summer has to be endured. Man and woman, child as well as horse, sheep and camel go through a period of real hardship and suffering. The heat is intense (the tent temperature often reaches 125° F.), supplies are scarce, *maraḍ* is a torture, and last but not least the Badawin and his stock are vulnerable to any raiding party that may be paying off old scores, or thinks to add to its stock of camels. For in summer the whole Badawin world knows where each Shaikh So-and-So is camped.

Even in peace-time there is therefore always some anxiety, but if hostilities should exist between two tribes or groups of tribes, and the Central Government is busy elsewhere, then over a wide area no man's life or cattle are safe; and in addition to having to endure the intense heat and privation of the Arabian summer, strong patrols have continually to move about and guard the camel-herds and bring them in at night. Nor is this all, for if peace reigns, summer is the time when the *zakāt* tax has to be paid to the Central Government or Ruler of the State. So on top of all his troubles, and just when he is most hard up, the Badawin may any day expect his lord and master's tax-gatherers suddenly to appear with a *surīya* (armed party). Woe betide him who tries to evade this tax! There is no escape, for like the enemy, the tax-gatherer knows where each Badawin shaikh has camped for the summer. 735 651

The enemy when anarchy exists, the Government official when peace reigns, have each got the wretched Badawin secure in summer. Both are hated; both, he believes, are out to hurt him, and both are the foe of him and of his kind.

221 192 At long last October, or the *wasm* season (the rains) arrives and small clouds begin to gather in the far west and south, and once more

1 Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MM

The Shepherd Boy

Chap. III

At 4 a.m. one of the men-servants gives the 'adhan (call to prayer) with which the day commences. It is still quite dark, but the prayer-call has roused the camp. The women also pray, but in their own tent. After prayers, the woman whose duty it is to make the daily supply of *laben* (sour milk), starts rocking her goatskin to and fro on the *mirjahah* (wooden tripod from the centre of which it hangs). According to the tribe they belong to, some women sing when at this work, others do not.

The woman of the house then orders a little bitter coffee or tea (a modern innovation) to be prepared and gives some to the shepherd and the camelherd, who with the dawn will start off on their day's duties. With the coffee she hands them a supply of dates; part of this is eaten on the spot and part put into a little leather bag as the day's ration. If coffee or tea is scarce, the men are given a bowl of milk. While this is being done, another servant whose duty later will be to go and fetch water, etc., looses the lambs from inside the tent, where each has been attached by a woollen loop to a central rope during the night, and allows each lamb to be suckled by its mother. This done, the lambs are tied up again. The grown-up animals are counted to see that no wolf has stolen one during the night, and off they are sent to graze in charge of the shepherd boy. As the sheep are weak from lack of fodder and the long summer, they will be sent a couple of miles or more. There the shepherd-boy amuses himself one way or another till the sun gets up and makes him feel inclined to rest. He thereupon plants his staff* in the ground and hangs his *'abba* on top. This is enough to deceive the sheep into thinking the shepherd is standing near them and watching. They will not wander; the shepherd goes to sleep. There is no danger by day while he is in sight of the camp.

After the sheep go the camels. A few of these, being in extra poor condition as the result of the summer, find difficulty in rising. They are given a mouthful of dates to encourage them; one or two may have to be helped up, protesting with growls and bubblings as their tails are seized and given an upward twist. They are all ready now and the herdsman bursts into song of encouragement and leads the

* Called *mihjan*. *Mihjan* is the special stick which shepherds keep to hang their 'abbas on to prevent sheep and lambs from wandering. Every man has one.

Night and long sleep take on certain of the *mihjan*, only the black sheep of Hasa and Kuwait. [See Bible. "Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me"—there "staff" is undoubtedly the Arabian *mihjan*.]

L Skinner G-5 (1939-47) 1951 MS L Kuwait
Brokerage M/4

5/2 way, riding monkey-like on the hindquarters of one of the better-
• 2/3 conditioned animals, and looking as if every minute he would slide
4/2 off over the animal's tail. The herdsman's song is wild and weird,
[839] rising and falling in semitones. As often as not he starts off with a description of the beautiful grazing that his charges are going to find ahead of them. He pleads with his camels and says they are to trust him, their guide and helper. He it is who is leading them to pastures *fair*, and grass that is green and succulent. The camels seem to understand, for with sundry groans and moans, they slowly follow him in single file. As they disappear into the early morning mist, the last you see or hear of the party is the distant singing of the camelherd. Then all are swallowed up in the morning fog. Like the sheep, the camels will not go far. Five to eight miles is their limit just now. Grazing has been so pitifully scarce in their long summer camp they must be allowed to get fit slowly; presently they will go further afield. The camelherd does not sleep by day. His is a much more valuable herd. He watches, with rifle ready, even though there is not the slightest rumour of danger or trouble in the air. To while away the long day, he may look for truffles on the hilltops or occasionally try and catch a jerboa. In the main, however, he watches and watches till the time comes to go home.

5/2 The camels and sheep having gone out to graze and the sun being
2/4 up, the tent family will have a meagre breakfast consisting of a little tea without milk, and some dates. If the housewife is in funds she may issue a small ration of bread to all; more often than not they go without.

5/2 The daughter of the house with her small sister, or her girl friend
4/2 from the neighbour's tent, now starts off to collect brushwood for
2/3 the day's needs. '*Arfaj* is what they seek, and as this has a tough root, they arm themselves with a small axe and several yards of goat's hair
[851] rope to carry home the firewood on their heads. Other children of from five to ten years old often accompany the girls to see if they can find an early flower or a truffle. It is their one way of enjoying themselves, they have few other amusements. The girls move off with strong healthy stride, their long sleeves bound behind their necks to free their arms, and their skirts hitched up at the waist to give freedom of movement. How straight and supple they are! Daily this fetching

A. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1931 MI 1 Kuwait
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512. An hour or so before sunset, the tent housewife takes a stroll. She has had a hard day. She enjoys herself with her children for half an hour or so. Before going out she has ordered the household to prepare
[496] and fill the *hauḍ*. This is a large leather drinking trough fixed in basin fashion on a stand of three bent hoops of wood. This is for the sheep when they come home and for the master's mare. There is a good supply of water ready, but the sheep will not need much, for they have been having green grazing. The camels will not yet drink: it is autumn and they will not want water for five days now. It is impossible to water them in camp, so every fifth day the herdsman will take them back, either to the wells they summered on, or to others that may be handy and let them drink their fill (*i-wariḍu-hum*).

On such journeys the herd will take the spare shepherd with him and he will go equipped with *al ḥauḍ* (see above), the *dalw* (small leather bucket), to draw water with, and the *ḥabl* or rope to attach to the bucket. He will also take all spare *guraḍ* (water-skins) to bring
512. back water to the camp. It is now nearly sunset and all eyes are on
[498] the look-out for the return of the master of the house. At last he is seen on the horizon cantering leisurely home. As he nears the tents the dogs begin to bark, the children rush out to meet father and the wife orders coffee to be prepared. His welcome is like that given to a guest, for he will be tired and hungry. As he dismounts, his wife or daughter takes his mare and at once throws over her a *jilāl* (blanket) before taking her to water. That duty done, they shackle her with clumsy iron shackles and allow her to go free. If the family is fairly well off, the mare will be given a feed of barley, but the poor man's mare gets nothing.

512. Salutations over and several cups of coffee handed round, the
[285] master of the house is asked about the result of his journey. He produces out of the voluminous folds of his *dishdāsha* samples of different kinds of grass which he has seen growing at the spot he visited, and which he has brought home to show his wife and herdsmen; he praises his new find, he says grazing is good out there, and there is lots of it, and no other Bedawin have as yet found it. He has brought good news (*bishāra*), he wants his womenfolk and all the others to rejoice with him for he is a *bashīr* (a bringer of good news):

"By God it is excellent, very very excellent, and there are no Arabs

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

on it—Oh my children, oh my servants, we will move to it to-morrow morning."

Yet what, after all, is this new-found grazing? Nothing but a slightly rained-upon locality, where a few green shoots and weeds wait for man and beast to find them. Yet with the scarcity that prevails, the find is welcome. At sunset the camels once again come home, this time with the herdsman riding behind them. He is no longer singing, but encourages them with a "wa-ho, wa-ho, hurry up my daughters, the night is coming on, 'tis late—'tis late".

On arrival the camels are gently shepherded to the front of the tent where they are encouraged to lie down in a semicircle forming a sort of zareeba, with heads all facing the open side of the tent. This for protection, and to give each other warmth, for the tent keeps off the chill night breeze. However cold it is, the camels have no covering on their backs, and they appreciate any shelter they can get from the night wind.

An hour after sunset, and often when it is quite dark, the sheep come in with much "baa-ing" and calling upon their lambs to come out and appease their hunger, for the lambs have been kept at home all day. The sheep are brought into the semicircle formed by the camels, and the lambs are let loose. For twenty minutes or so pandemonium reigns. The babies have to be guided to their mothers, who will accept no lamb but their own, and in the darkness there is much apparent confusion due only to the noise made by ewes and lambs.

The shepherds know their job, and the lambs, having fed, are soon taken back and tied up inside the tent. All this time there are no lights, for the Badawin family cannot afford such luxury. Only in the kitchen portion of the tent a fire is cooking the evening meal and the master of the house sitting in front of the guest portion of his tent has got a small fire going with the embers of dry camel dung. Every now and then he flings on a bunch of *'arfaj* to cause a blaze and show him what is going on.

Supper follows, a simple meal of boiled rice and possibly a little bread. It is washed down with *laben*, of which master takes long and copious draughts. The women do not eat with him. They have already had their snack. Only the wife sits by her husband to see that he has

i. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Reference 5134

342 it is, sand may be used for the necessary ablutions in place of water.
345 So the cleaner and more handy the sandy bed of the nullah, the happier
349 are the occupants of the tent.

The phrase "proximity of water" is used in a relative sense only. In summer it must, of course, be close, within at most half a mile, but preferably much closer. In winter, however, when camels are not watered at all, and sheep and mares drink only once in four days, camps may be pitched twenty or thirty miles from any well. The household water is brought out on camel-back and in large and small skins, whilst sheep are sent off to drink at the wells, or in exceptional circumstances have water brought to them on camels.

CHANGING THE CAMPING GROUND

345 For sanitary reasons the camping ground is changed every eight or
231 ten days, but especially to provide new grazing for the camels and sheep. An ordinary change of ground usually involves a march of ten or twelve miles, always provided water is handy. This is not in any sense a "migration", which will be described in a later chapter.

492. When it is time to move, tents are struck, and tents and other heavy material are loaded on to the male camels (*jemal*), which are stronger and more suited for the work than the females: lighter gear, spare water, etc., are placed on selected females, and of course the family
[491] themselves mount on riding camels, the women moving off sheltered in their *mahsars* or *ginas*, the tops of which are canopied over with bright coloured woollen or cotton material, as a protection both from the eyes of men and from the sun. The men go before on their *dhalûls*. If an individual householder with half a dozen tents is changing ground, he himself heads the procession, while his sheep and milch camels either follow, grazing as they go on a flank or in the rear, or have already been sent on ahead. When nearing the new ground, the head of the house rides ahead, selects the site for the tents, makes his camel kneel *mawâkh al dhalûl* and declares this to be the new camping ground.

700 If a whole tribe is changing ground the fighting men move out first
211 under their leader, all of them riding *dhalûls* and with mares and horses attached to their saddles by long leading ropes. Scouts (*shûr*) have

L Dickson G-5 (3939-47) 1950 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins MS#

Women's Treasures

Chap. V

Mighwal—coloured saddle-bags for storing women's clothes, spare gar- 495
ments, coloured wools, etc. These are separate and hang on hooks 492
on either side of the *mukaz*, whereas men's saddle-bags are joined together and hang over the top of the saddle. The *mighwal*'s bag-tassels are half as long as those adorning men's saddle-bags.

'Adil—large woollen saddle-bags for carrying rice, flour, sugar, etc.

Lahaf—woven quilts, usually red.

Fiki—a volcanic stone resembling an ox-tongue in shape. Hard and black, used as a hammer for knocking in tent pegs.

Mirjahah—wooden tripod 4 ft. high, on which the skin is slung when making *laben*, or the carcase of a sheep which is to be skinned.

Sumil (plural: *sumlan*)—special skin for making *laben*, always a sheepskin.

Mahrach—bladder for storing butter, known as *mawal* by the 'Awazim.

Firba (plural: *garal*)—Goatskin for carrying water.

Rawi (plural: *rawi*)—Camelskin for carrying water. (Known as *mighda* among the 'Ajman.)

Mahjan—wooden funnel for putting milk into skins

Jerab—Bag made from skin of baby gazelle with a pattern on it in coloured dyes, used for carrying coffee in on the march.

Mawgik—hand loom (also *mawa*).

Mirkas—shuttle.

Nuska—flat wooden piece for tightening threads.

Middrab—gazelle's horn for pulling down threads.

Mughzal or *Mahrak*—spindle.

Surdi—The pair of sticks 8 inches long used to tie up the udders of a she- 255 ●
camel, e.g. *surs al naja* (an order indicating that the camel's teats should be tied up). Each stick is laid alongside two udders, and each udder is tied separately with a piece of woollen thread. This is to prevent calves drinking. Calves are only allowed to drink morning and evening. The camel has four udders.

Birij (pronounced *brish*) and *Mughazal*—jug and basin (used only among *hadar* or townsmen).

Al Hanib—a leather basin for watering sheep and camels. Three base pieces of wood form the stand.

Al Dalw—small leather bucket (two kinds) used for drawing water from wells.

Mijbah—Child's portable cradle, common to the tribes of Ham. It is carried 254
on the mother's back supported by thongs across her forehead, or else carried under her arm supported by thongs over the shoulder, according to which tribe she belongs to. The *mijbah* is made out of one piece of leather. As the cradle is lifted the end where the child's feet lie is automatically closed by the running rope which passes through two holes one at each side (see diagram). The *mijbah* is not

I. Dickson G-6 (1929-47) 1951 MI I Kuwait
Bedouins M24

so, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin in the transition stage to a more settled existence.

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharif stock such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter undoubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi, are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs. The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging in the city.

Akalnaa al Bada, is a common cry heard among the 'Arabdawin of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful, for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin raider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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233 463 619 or form part of the nomad camel tribes, or have stock of their own and roam the outer desert in various formed tribal bodies. These shepherd tribes are known under the general term of *Shawâwi* (singular: *Shâwi*) by town dwellers, or *Hukra* in the desert.

233 619 For example, in North-East Arabia we have the following:

(*a*) The great *Shawâwi* or *Hukra* shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq confederation on the Euphrates, who for seven months in the year move south into the great desert and only return with the advent of the hot weather. These in origin were the shepherds who looked after the flocks and herds of the Al Sa'adun hereditary Shaikhs of the Muntafiq in bygone days, but who to-day for the most part own their own stock. (See Chapter XLV.)

(*b*) The *Hirshân* or *Shawâwi* tribes of the Mutair, a more or less serf-community owing allegiance to that great tribe of nomads.

(*c*) The *'Awazim Ahl al Ghanam*, or people of the sheep, who care for the flocks of the camel sections of that tribe and are in closest touch with them. These 'Awazim shepherd tribes by no means confine their attention to caring for their own, or their camel brethren's sheep. They are such good shepherds and so well trusted that many of them come up to Kuwait to hire themselves out to those townsfolk who own sheep, and even take those sheep many miles south and graze them with their own in the Suda region and 100 miles south of Kuwait town, where water is plentiful when summer sets in. Being honest in the extreme, they hold it a matter of tribal pride to account faithfully for every animal so entrusted to them.

The true Badawin nomads (*Bâdia*) breed only camels, and for nine months in the year dwell in the interior of the far desert places, far away from civilisation and towns, where the best grazing after the winter rains is to be found. Their object is to find the best grazing grounds, irrespective of water; this means the ground which has been rained upon. With the first signs of autumn, therefore, they anxiously look out for signs of rainstorms in the distant skies, indicated by lightning flashes at night, low down on the horizon, and they make for those areas, as if life depended on it. The bustard, the gazelle and other wild animals obey the same instinct.

619 565 These Badawin proper are entirely exclusive, and look upon themselves as the very salt of the earth, marrying only with exclusive

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Milk Products

SHEEP'S MILK AND ITS USES

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From sheep's milk are made *rauba*, *laben* and *igt*.

To make *rauba*, milk is heated to blood heat, and then poured into a special goatskin *makhmar*, kept for the purpose. It is then covered up with rugs, and turns into *rauba* after about four hours. As a certain amount of old *rauba* remains in the skin from previous brews, the Badawin needs to add no old *rauba*, as would be necessary if it were made by us in a bowl at home. When we made it we added a coffee-cup full of old stock to 2 quarts of warm milk, and covered all with a warm cloth. In our house at Kuwait we prepared the *rauba* at night ready for eating in the early morning. In cold weather it takes 4 to 5 hours to prepare; in hot weather only 1½ to 2 hours.

To make *laben* you take the skin containing cooled *rauba* which is ready for eating and transfer it into a *laben*-skin *mankhak*, which is then slung under the tripod stand *mirjakah*, and about a third of its weight in water is added. The skin is then rocked backwards and forwards for 2½ hours (usually done in the early morning two hours before dawn, otherwise butter will not form), until lumps of butter appear, leaving a thin butter-milk. This latter is the *laben*.

Igt, or "milk cake", looks rather like hard chalk lumps. It is made as follows. *Rauba* is boiled for at least 2 hours until it becomes thick and granulated. Then it is cooled, and as it hardens little round flat cakes are made by squeezing in the hand. To get good *igt*, the wild flower known as *hurwa'g* is mixed with the *rauba*, and sometimes the petal-less daisy called *garese*.

Igt is sold in the Kuwait bazaar and all towns of Najd. It is much used by Badawin when travelling in the desert. In the summer when sheep, goats and camels are not giving milk, *igt* is pounded up, mixed with water and drunk as *laben*.

SHEPHERDS' LORE

B
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One of the most astonishing things about the Badawin and their sheep is the wonderful manner in which the shepherds know their sheep. I refer particularly to the 'Awazim tribe. Here every shepherd gives a name to each of his ewes as soon as she has lambed. From

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that day till she dies or is eaten he knows her and calls her by name. 293 ●
Each ewe knows her name and answers to the call.

On 14th January, 1934, I made a point of being present when the lambs and sheep belonging to Salim al Muzaiyin came home at night, to see if I had been told the truth about this "naming" business.

The lambs, a month or two months old, had been out all day grazing under little Marzuk, the black slave boy, and Hamud, Maneira's son. They went only some quarter mile from camp and wandered about gaining strength and learning how to eat the dry stubble that had fallen from the *'arfaj* bushes. There had as yet been no rain, so there was no grass.

The lambs were brought in at sunset and were tied up as usual in their tent for the night. Each had its little loop attached to a long goat-hair rope like this:

At about 6.30 p.m., or an hour after sunset, the ewes were brought back to camp by Nasir and Falâh, the 'Awazim shepherds. It was pitch dark and no moon was shining. After keeping the mothers waiting 50 yards from the tents, until the shepherds had examined the lambs and ascertained where each was tied, the mothers were brought close up in front of the big tent. Apart from the small fire that Salim and Dhurwaihi had lit and were making coffee on, the whole place was in darkness.

The mothers, which numbered 51 (42 sheep and 9 goats), were kept back from the lambs by Falâh and Salim, while Nasir began to call them by name, and as each was allowed to come up Nasir slipped the noose off the young one's neck and gave it to the mother. He knew every mother and every lamb. An astonishing thing was that he called up each ewe and picked out her lamb in complete darkness. Out of the 50 mothers and 50 lambs I saw him make one mistake only. All through the process of loosing the lambs, calling up the

S Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MS I Kuwait
Bodleian MS

• 238 mothers and handing the baby to its dam to suckle, he was calling out name after name amidst the din of mothers' "baaing" and lambs crying for their food. To me it was pandemonium, to Nasir and Falih an everyday procedure.

Those ewes whose male lambs had been killed for food were given strange lambs to feed, after the latter had had a short drink from their rightful mothers. In this case the rightful mothers had to be forcibly held by Salim whilst their little ones were fostered by another.

The mothers all appeared to recognise their own lambs by smell. The lambs on the other hand did not seem to mind much whether they drank from their mother or from a stranger. It was the mothers who made the fuss.

238 652 In conversation afterwards with Nasir, the shepherd, the latter told me that he named a ewe only when it gave birth to a lamb, not before. The purpose was purely utilitarian. The names saved time at night when the mothers came home. He had names for all the sheep and goat mothers. He could recognise each mother and each baby by the feel with his eyes shut. All were black, but by feeling heads and backs he knew by touch which was which.

This skill, Nasir said, was universal among all the 'Awazim tribes, and among the shepherds of Kuwait and Najd. None of the Iraq tribes or the Muntafiq shepherd tribes named their sheep, nor could they recognise them in the dark.

SHEEP NAMES AMONG THE 'AWAZIM

(1) *Al Hamrak* (The red one).
(2) *Al Sawaid* (The little black one).
(3) *Al Hadaid* (The hairy one).
(4) *Al Shakaid* (The white-shouldered one).
(5) *Al Saguik* (The one with the white blaze).
(6) *Al Kakail* (Soft black-haired one).
(7) *Al Wada'ak* (The little cowrie).
(8) *Al Zinadak* (The wattled one).
(9) *Al Arskain* (The white-nosed one).
(10) *Al Hajlak* (The white-stockinged one).
(11) *Al Dakrijak* (The stumpy one).
(12) *Al Sawaidan* (The black one).

283 Sheep which are fat and have plenty of grazing are inclined to get exhausted when the sun grows stronger with the advancing summer.

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They seem to feel the sun on their heads more than on their bodies. 233
They then have a trick of collecting in clumps of ten to fifteen with lowered heads to the centre, to get shade.

If sheep get frightened of a horseman or motor car, they bolt to their shepherd for protection.

The way to test a sheep's condition is to weigh its tail in your hand. If the tail is heavy the sheep's condition is good.

Sheep are watered according to the season of the year. In winter they do not drink, as grazing gives them the necessary moisture. In March they drink every other day—in mid-summer every day.

GOATS

Nomenclature.

Sukkh, pln. *Sukhal*—A goat (general).
Tais—He-goat.
'Anz—She-goat.
Ma'aza—Herd of full-grown goats.
Al Sukhr—Kids.

Names of Varieties in Kuwait and North-East Arabia.

Barbariyah—Small, white, black-and-white, and black goat, always short haired—long eared. Gives very good milk.
Ardhiyah—Long haired, always black (with occasional white marking), also long eared.
Shaxra—Short-eared goats.

GOAT DISEASES 232.

There are only two recognised goat diseases:

(a) *Abu Rumah.* (b) *Al Jarrah.*

Abu Rumah.—A disease of the internal organs, probably lungs. Symptoms: The goat lies down, and appears to have high fever. It is unable to move and moans as if in great pain. The sickness lasts seven days and then the goat dies. The only cure is to kill one of the affected animals, cut out its lungs (*sakara*), and bury them. The lungs are left underground for approximately an hour. Then they are cut up into small pieces, which are mixed with certain herbs, viz. *myrr*, *sadir*,

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234 *ballit* (not found in Arabia). The ear of the sick goat is sliced open at the top end until blood is drawn, and the mixture is well rubbed into the wound. Usually a small ball of the mixture is made and placed under the skin for an hour (the skin being cut and the ball placed underneath, and the skin flap placed over the ball to keep it in position). All goats of the flock, whether known to be infected or not, are treated thus, and if attacked have a good chance of recovery. The disease is highly contagious.

Under the above treatment 50 per cent usually recover. If no treatment is given the whole flock is doomed. The disease reappears in a district every two or three years.

Al Jarrah.—A virulent form of mange. The cure is to cut all the goat's hair off and smear the skin plentifully with an ointment made from gunpowder and clarified butter. This must be done three times to effect a cure. The mange does not attack sheep, dogs, camels or horses, and man is also safe from the disease. Ninety per cent of goats escape if treated in time.

GENERAL REMARKS

● 238 In the desert goats are chiefly kept for the sake of their milk and hair. The Badawin prefer sheep, but the more well-to-do try to keep a certain number of goats, for goats' hair is superior to sheep's wool for certain parts of their black tents.

In every Badawin hair tent the roof consists of a central broad strip, with two strips of black wool or hair on either side of it. The strip furthest from the central strip is always made of goats' hair, as it is stronger and takes the weight of the *rusg*, or back curtain, better.

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GOAT-NAMES AMONG THE 'AWAZIM

Al Duaiya (no meaning).
Al Sha'ail (The yellow one).
Al Rakiah (The spotted one).
Al Khaim (The white-headed one).
Al Daghain (The black-headed one).
Al Tawil (The tall one).

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when the state of the track did not permit of trains running at more than 30 miles an hour.

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NAMES OF HERDS, ETC.

Herds of camels are spoken of as *al hil*, or *al dibbash*. This is a generic term in the same way as one might speak of "the flocks", "the herds". Other names for the camel are *bayir* (plural: *ba'arin*), *Al mudski* is the name given to camels on the move and grazing, while *jamal* or *fahal* is a male camel or one reserved for breeding purposes.

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To the Western mind there is a tendency to think of camels as beasts of burden only. We picture them pacing the desert tied head to tail, in long snake-like formation, conveying the necessities of life from town to town.

In Arabia proper, where the great Badawin tribes roam, the picture is quite a different one. This is the home of the camel, and vast herds sometimes as many as 100,000 at a time may be seen following the grazing from one area to another. The camel at home is like the sheep, and is kept primarily for its milk, secondarily for its meat.

The great herds consist almost entirely of females, the few odd males that are to be found being used only for carrying heavy loads such as tents from camp to camp, and for breeding purposes. The camel-stallions are kept strongly tied up and as a rule near tents during the cold weather (December and January) or rutting season. In summer, when grazing is scarce and breeding-time is over, they are allowed to graze with the females.

CAMEL BREEDING

One good *fahal* in a good spring season is capable of serving a hundred females.

The act of copulation is performed with the female in kneeling posture, her foreleg usually being tied up to the shoulder to keep her quiet. As a rule men are in attendance to assist in the process, but quite often the male is left to his own devices in the herd. At calving time the women and children all watch the delivery of the young

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233 camel into the world. There is no false modesty or stupid hush-hush about such matters among the Badawin.

FAMOUS BREEDS

231 The following are the famous breeds of camels:

(1) *Al 'Umaniyah.*
(2) *Al Hurra.*
(3) *Al Bátiniyah.*
(4) *Al Arthiyah.*
(5) *Al Attiyah.*

Al 'Umaniyah originally came from the coast of Oman and Trucial coast, but it is found to-day along the eastern shore of Arabia from Kuwait to Oman, more especially at the southern end. The 'Umaniyah camel is not good for work in pebbly country, as its feet are tender.

Al Hurra comes from Shammar and 'Anizah country. It is supposed to have come originally from the Shararat tribe. This is considered the best of all breeds for summer work and on stony country, as its feet are tough and it can go longest and furthest without water. It is commonly said that in North-West Arabia there roams a breed of wild camels. It is the males of this breed which cover the female (which is left out at night tied up, etc.) and the resulting calf is the Hurra.

Al Bátiniyah comes from the Bátinah coast of Oman, and is the highest bred and most renowned of all thoroughbred camels. Before 1914 a Bátiniyah was worth Rs.1,000; in 1933, about Rs.400. It is tall but lightly built. Few ordinary Arabs can afford to buy one of them and they are usually given as gifts by rulers to rulers.

Al Arthiyah comes from South-Western Central Arabia (Khurma and Turraba region); it is said to be a good but not very remarkable animal.

Al Attiyah comes from Central and North-East Arabia. It has no remarkable features though shapely and pleasing.

White camels are much prized and a white herd is known as *maghathir*. A single white she-camel is called *Al Wadha*. Other terms in use are:

Jaish—Camels on which fighting men are mounted.
Rukla—Camels which are engaged in carrying loads (*mustábilah*).

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Malka—One black camel.
Mfaikia—A herd of black camels (e.g. *Al Shuraf*).
Shu'alah—One brown camel.
Shu'al—A herd of brown camels.
Safrah—One light-coloured fawn camel.
Rdiyah—A herd. Each herd has seventy camels in it.
Khalfah—Milch camel (generic term).
Nagah—Female camel that has had a calf.
Hirdo—A baby camel (generic term).
Ga'ud—Young male camel.
Bukkurah—Young female camel.
Jamal—Young male, able to carry things (till twenty).
Nagah-in-Bikir—Female when first put to a male and has her first calf.
Dhalul—Female riding camel (not allowed to have a calf).
Hawdi—Young first-born camel, from birth to one year old.
Mafrud—From second year, and when it no longer drinks from its mother.
Hady walad khalfah—Three-year old (ridden for first time).
Lifi—Four years old.
Jadd'a—Five years old.
Jinjuh or *Rabo*—Six years old.
Sidis—Seven years old.
Nagah—Eight years old (when she is first allowed to breed).
Hiriah—Male camel over twenty years old.
Fdair—Female camel over twenty years old.

Note.—Period of gestation is twelve months.

WATERING OF CAMELS

In the winter when grazing is good, camels are not watered at all.233 ● When it begins to get warm they are watered every seven to nine days. As the summer gets hotter this period is reduced, until in the very hot months (shade temperature anything from 110° to 125°), the camel is watered every two days if possible.

Sheep follow in the main the camel rule as regards watering, but cannot go for longer than four days without water in winter.

Watering at wells is known as *al rird*. Water is drawn from the wells by long ropes to which are attached leather buckets (formed by gathering up the sides of a circular piece of leather by several strings). The water is then poured into the *haudh* or leather receptacle

A Bibliography G-S (1829-47) 1951 Mil 1 Kuwait
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● 233 supported on wooden stands which is kept in every Badawin tent, and the camel drinks its fill.

SALTING CAMELS

To be kept in good condition camels must be driven every ten days to *hamath* areas, i.e. to areas where salty bushes exist.

If no *hamath* is convenient, salt must be given to the camel by hand.

Caravans in Arabia proper, for instance a caravan going from Kuwait to Qasim, and between towns of Qasim or Najd, never go tied head and tail. They all move in a mixed mob and graze as they go along. They keep together naturally as sheep do. A few men mounted on camels to keep them moving are all that are necessary.

When camels go to water one man usually mounts a female and calls the herd to follow. The camels recognise the cry and slowly concentrate and follow the crier from near and far.

The common cries of the leader at such times are, "Ydoh Ydoh", "Yah Yah" or "Yoboh Yoboh". One man can manage 100 camels in this way.

CARE OF CAMELS

The camel is a delicate beast and requires careful attention.

If it is in good condition, gets proper food and regular salting, its hump grows large and fat. If the hump gets small and insignificant, the animal grows weak. Its hump, in other words, is its storehouse of fat, and indicates, like the fat in the sheep's tail, the general condition of its owner.

In the cold weather, if in good condition with large hump, the camel needs no protection at night, but if she is in poor condition, or has had young, a *jilál* or rug should be tied across her back, leaving a hole for the hump to protrude.

In very cold weather, when the wind is strong and cutting, camels are all brought to the tents at night, and made to kneel on its lee-side with heads and necks almost inside the tent. This gives shelter from the icy blasts. It also gives shelter to the guard or watchmen watching them.

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In summer, on the other hand, camels wander about at night and 233
graze.

Camel droppings (*jiddi*) are collected and dried and form a much- 237
prized fuel. When lit *jiddi* gives a good hot ember, and is excellent for making coffee in camp or on the march, when no firewood is available. Hence all travellers carry a bagful.

Female camels' urine (*baul*) is caught and used throughout Badawin Arabia as a hairwash for women. It is supposed to strengthen and cleanse the hair, and kills all head vermin. A woman normally washes her hair once a week. *Baul* is also extensively used as a purgative.

HOMING INSTINCT

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The homing instinct is strongly developed in the camel, but may be termed with greater accuracy the herd instinct.

A camel seems instinctively to know where its friends are, and is always anxious to get back to them.

A fairly common sight at Kuwait is to see a camel brought up to the town with a dozen others by a tent-dweller who has come to buy supplies, escaping and making its way with all speed across country to its camp possibly 30 miles away. The hue and cry after it has to be seen to be realised.

This instinct for returning home is strongest in young camels who have not often moved from the main herd before.

One way to deter a camel from acting on this instinct is to give it food, and especially water, whenever a strange place is reached—water appears somewhat to deaden the homing instinct.

Junaifir ibn Hawaila of the 'Ajman (Mahfudh) and Muhammad ibn Hajjáj, also of the 'Ajman (Al Súlaiman), both told me on 7th September, 1933, that of all animals within their ken the camel was the most clever and cunning at finding its way back to a place it came from. Its instinct in this respect was phenomenal.

Mursit ibn Hawaila ('Ajman) once related to me how he lost his camel, which broke away at night from Abu Halaifa (Qusur), 25 miles from Kuwait on the coast, and was recovered 150 miles inland at Dulaimiyah with Shammar, from whom it had been bought some weeks before.

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Camel Diet

Chap. XXXII

CAMEL FOOD

259 The staple food of the camel is the *samr* grass, the *'arfaj* bush of the desert, and when in season wild flowers and grasses of every description. The first two grow in profusion over Central and North-Eastern Arabia after good rains. Camels near the Euphrates thrive on a thorny bush known as *e'ghal*—but this does not suit the desert camel.

The salt diet of the camel is found in the *rimth*, *shawwan*, *'ardd*, *'ajram* and *ghaḍaf* bushes, all known under the generic term of *hamth*.

The camel is also very fond of dates, which are given him with milk when he is being prepared for long and arduous work. He of course eats the date stones with relish.

A dainty dish for a sick camel is dates and barley mixed with milk into a mush, and followed by Arab bread broken up into small pieces.

CAMEL FLESH

262 Camels' meat is not unpleasant and is rather like coarse beef. It is widely eaten, especially in November and December, when sheep are in poor condition for lack of grass. Camels' meat is supposed to be good for man during the cold weather and to supply warmth.

Among the Badawin, camels are often killed on feast days or for rejoicing on festive occasions. I have found the hump to be the most edible part of the camel, and this is also the Arab opinion.

Camels' milk is, of course, universally drunk throughout Arabia. It is extremely nourishing, but contains no cream, and therefore yields no butter. It has a slightly purgative effect on most people, and Europeans should be careful not to indulge too freely in the desert.

492 ## GEAR FOR CAMEL TRAVEL (see Chapter V)

The main necessaries for a journey by camel are:

The camel saddle with two tall pommels fore and aft.

The large saddle bags hanging down on both sides of the saddle.

The finely-worked leather apron which hangs down in front of a camel's saddle and stretches down both sides of the camel's neck nearly to its knees.

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A WELL OF THE CAMELS DRINKING

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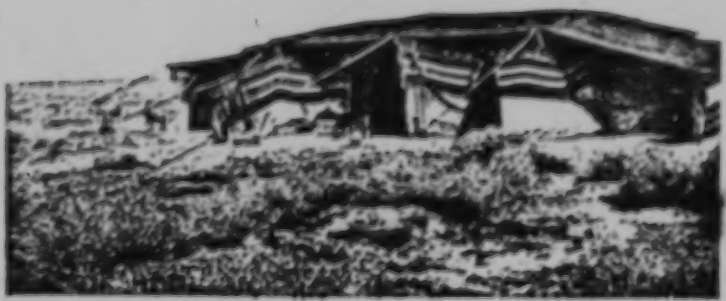

OUR TENT WITH AMSHA STANDING IN FRONT
OF THE DIVIDE

h Dickson G-8 (1929-47) 1936 MS I Kuwait
Bedouins 1454

Branding of Camels

Chap. XXXII

A curious custom exists among certain tribes, revealing their firm belief in *'isiqad*, or sympathetic magic. 232

If a man has a white and a black camel, and one goes lame, say the white one, in the leg, he brands the black camel on the same leg that is lame in the white camel, and the white camel's lameness is believed to disappear. (Authority, Shaikh of Kuwait, 25th November, 1933.)

MILCH CAMELS

Male camels, as already mentioned, are kept away from females in winter, the breeding season. In summer the sexes are allowed to graze together. 235

Milch camels are not allowed to feed their young when grazing. The milk is wanted for the tent, and only after tent requirements are taken is the mother allowed to suckle the baby camel. The young camel is allowed to feed in the evening, and before going out in early morning.

To prevent a baby camel's illicit drinking, the mother's udders are tied to a piece of stick called a *sardr*. (*Sara al nāqa*, means "tie the she-camel's teats up".)

The female has four teats and the stick is tied to two at a time. (See sketch, page 100.)

On 9th May, 1935, when drinking some camel's milk among the 'Ajman, I saw the tying-up process. To enable us to milk the camel the strings were loosed, and when the 'Ajman herdsman tied them up again he placed a piece of camel's wool between string and teats before fastening them to the *sardr*. In one case, having no wool handy, he used an old camel dropping (*jalla*). The piece of wool is to prevent damage or hurt to the nipples.

TRIBAL "WASMS"

Every tribe has its *wasms* or tribal brand marks, corresponding somewhat to our own family crests. The *wasm* is never placed on banners or war flags, and is primarily meant to show the Badawin world to whom such and such camels or wells belong. 619 233 422

E Bertram G-1 (1923-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bahrain 1/54

Horses and mares are never branded, though sheep usually have a small slit or private brand placed on the ear to indicate the owner. Camels on the other hand are all branded with some tribal wasm or other, whoever they are, or to whomsoever they belong.

Private property also, such as a camel load, which has had to be temporarily abandoned in the desert owing to the death of the camel carrying it, can be protected by marking on the ground near it the tribal wasm of the owner. As a rule, no one finding such property will touch it.

The tribal wasms which exist, and could be collected by anyone interested in the study, are legion, for the 'Awazim tribe of Hasa, as far as I can ascertain, is alone among all the tribes of Arabia in possessing one wasm mark only for the whole tribe. All other tribes have dozens and dozens of different brands in accordance with the number of sections and subsections into which they are divided, or the number of their shaikhs who think they ought to have their own special distinguishing mark for their camels.

Like the tattoo marks of the Iraq Marsh women, Badawin's camel marks are of extraordinary interest and it would be well worth while for some student to collect and classify them. I have myself collected a fair number of tribal wasms from various sections of the more important tribes I have come across, but space forbids to reproduce them here.

I therefore confine myself to giving a few of the more important wasms only, including those of the paramount shaikhs of certain tribes, just to show what they look like and on what part of the camel they are branded.

(1) His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (Ibn Sa'ud):
Placed on the right thigh.

After the Ikhwan rebellion of 1929-30 was put down, those camels confiscated by Ibn Sa'ud from the rebellious tribes were marked with a special new brand to indicate that they were the King's property, but had been taken from rebels. This wasm was on right thigh.

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BANI HAJIR CAMELS DRINKING

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Tribal Warns

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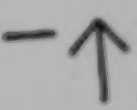
(1) Muhammad al Sa'ud (the King's brother):
Placed on right thigh.

(2) 'Abdullah* bin Jiluwi (Amir of Hasa):
Placed on right thigh.
* To-day Sa'ud bin ---

(4) His Excellency The Shaikh of Kuwait (Bin Subah):
Placed on either thigh.



(5) Al Sa'adun (Shaikhs of the Muntafiq):
Placed on left cheek.
(The circle is known as *halga*.)

(6) 'Uzaiba Tribe
(a) Ibn Humaid (Shaikh of Barqa group):
On off fore shoulder.

(b) Ibn Rubaiyan (Shaikh of Ruqa group):
On left side of neck.
(Rest of family same mark on right side of neck).

(c) Ibn Chamil (Shaikh of Muqita group):
On left cheek.

(d) Ibn Hijra (Shaikh of Anfa group):
On right thigh.

(e) Ibn Ja'ama (Shaikh of Rusan group):
Halga on right cheek.

(7) Dhafir Tribe (Ibn Suwait only):
On right thigh.

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Mutair Women

Chap. XXXII

(19) (F) 'Awazim Tribe
238 (a) Ibn Jama (Al Amir): On left thigh
422 Also (Hadalin): On left neck

(b) Ibn Dusi: On right thigh
Also
(Suwahir): On left cheek
or *killal* on left thigh

(g) Mutair Tribe
(a) Al Dushan (all members): On left thigh
(b) Al Fuqum (Sahaba—Thawiam):
On left neck
Also on left cheek
(c) Ibn Lami (Qu'aiman—Jiblan):
On right neck
(d) Ibn Shiblan (Al Yahya—Jiblan):
On right thigh
(e) Ibn Ghuzaiman (Mala'iha—Thawiam):
Over right eye
(f) Ibn Rashidan (Burzan—Jiblan):
On right thigh
(g) Al Ma'argab (Arageiba—Jiblan):
On left neck
Also On left cheek
(h) Al Sur (Bara'isa—Muwaha):
On left thigh
Also
On left cheek
(i) Ibn Jariban
Abu Sifra (Rukhman—Muwaha):
On right cheek
or *killal*

Rashaida *Wasms*

Chap. XXXII

(*j*) Ibn Shuwaiyat (Khawatirah—Muwalia):
On left thigh

(*k*) Abu Ras (Al Jubara—Muwalia):
On right thigh

(*l*) Ibn Mita'ib (Sa'anim—Muwalia):
On left neck

Also on left cheek

(*m*) Ibn Ashwan (Abaiyat—Wasil):
On right thigh

(*n*) Ibn Shuwairibat (Birzan—Wasil):
On left neck

(*o*) Ibn Jarbuh (Diyahin—Wasil):
They cut a piece out of the left cheek and off the left ear.

(*p*) Ibn Muhailib (Wisama—Wasil):
On left thigh

(*q*) Ibn Musaiyis (Sa'aran—Awlad Ali):
On right cheek

Also

On right thigh

(*r*) Ibn Jirnas (Al Maimum—Bani 'Abdillah):
On left cheek

(*s*) Ibn Thamna
Ibn Darwish
(Al Sa'aba—Bani 'Abdillah):
On right cheek

(9A) Rashaida Tribe

(*a*) Ibn Musailim:
A long plain line round neck under chin from side to side

(*b*) Ibn Awaiyid ('Awana):
On left thigh

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(c) Al Shahir (Shahara): On right thigh

(d) Ibn Nimaan (Muhaizimat): On right thigh

(e) Ibn Sa'ami: On right thigh

(10) The following 'Ajman *wasms* were given me by Mubarak Ibn Haif al Hajraf, Shaikh of the Sulaiman, on April 10, 1934:

Al Hithlain: On left cheek

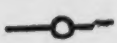
Al Hadi: On right cheek

Al Hajraf: On left neck

Al Sulaiman: On left neck, low

Ibn 'Asidan (Shaikh Sulaiman): On left neck

Al Mahfudh: On left thigh

Al Suffran : On right neck 

Al Hajjan: On right thigh

Al Saleh: On right neck

Al Rima: On left neck high up

Al Hitlan: Right round gullet on under side

Al Thain: On left neck

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Camel Sticks

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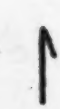
(11) Bani Khalid Tribe

(*a*) Ibn Agál:

On right side of neck



(*b*) Ibn Ajran:

On left thigh (like Awazim)

(12) Bani hajir Tribe (Ibn Mubarak only):

On left side of neck

camel sticks (*Mishd'ab*)

These very often bear the *wasm* of the owner's tribe burnt on the crook end of the stick. I have three such myself, given me by members of the Dushan clan of the Mutair, which I keep as mementoes.

"wasms" or tribal marks carved on the rocks on north-west face of jabal wara (kuwait)

Names of tribes or sections of a tribe claiming some of those *wasms* are given below. 619

'Awazim

Subah (Kuwait)

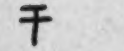
Sufran ('Ajman)

Al Huwaila ('Ajman)

Hithlain ('Ajman)

Salim al Hamud (one of Al Subah Shaikhs)

Qahtan, also 'Utaiba

 'Utaiba

'Ajman

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CHAPTER XLV

The Muntafiq Shepherd Tribes

This book would not be complete without a short reference to the great southerly annual migration of the shepherd tribes of the Muntafiq Confederation situate between Samawa and the Hamar Lake.

These shepherd tribes, which are known under the generic term of Shawíyah or Shawáwi in Iraq, and that of Hukra in Kuwait and Najd, consist of the sheep-rearing sections of the three great groups of the Muntafiq, namely the Albu Salah, the 'Ajwad and the Bani Malik, as well as the Bani Hachaim tribe which have their habitat south-east of Samawa, adjoining the Muntafiq.

The names of most of these Euphrates shepherd tribes are given below, and each has a definite shaikh or leader, though some of them come under the protection of one or other of the more powerful riverain tribes of the lower Euphrates.

(1) Bani Málik Group:

Al Wada'ai. Al Májid.
Al Taugiyah. Al Diwán.
Al Munafida.
(all known under name Al Jumai'an)

(2) Albu Sálah Group:

Al Shamla. Al 'Araithib.
Al Safáfa'a Al 'Abada.

(3) 'Ajwad Group:

Al Juarín. Al Sharaifat.
*Al Budur. Al Ghazzi.

(4) Bani Hachaim Group:

Al Zaiyad. Al Ghazalat.
Bani Salamah.

(5) Shammar (elements claiming descent from main Shammar of Najd):

†Ah 'Aunan. Al Rufai'at.
Al Zauba.

* Budur tribal sections who visit Kuwait are the Al Hamad and the Al Fauwaz (Shaikh Mana). These are at enmity with the rest of the Budur (paramount Shaikh Shirshab al Sahan). Shammar shepherd tribes who in summer reside at Zubair or at Hartha (10 miles north of Basra) and annually visit Kuwait are Al Rufai'at and Al Zauba.

† Al 'Aunan are of Shammar extraction. They reside near Suq al Shuyukh.

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619 Add to the above the Zubairiyah, a Zubair sheep tribe, and the
101 Zauba and Rufai'at, who are of Shammar origin, both of whom in
233 good years join up with the Muntafiq shepherds and move southwards with them, and you have a fairly complete list of the Euphrates Shawíyah lying east of Samawa.

497 These tribes, though they move about on donkeys, which are more
144 suitable beasts of burden for men owning slowly moving flocks of
233 sheep, are in no way to be confused with the low-class Sulubba fraternity, which are found all over Middle and North Arabia. The latter are the outcasts of the Peninsula, while the shepherd tribes are for the most part of good Arab stock, and some can give and take women from the best tribes of Iraq.

795 The shepherd tribes are all Shi'ah by persuasion and so are not
439 much liked by the pure-blooded Badawin of the high desert. Nevertheless, they are tolerated and even welcomed by the latter each year, since they bring with them cheap mutton, excellent *dehen* (clarified butter), much wool for tents and red and white sheepskins, always in demand for camel saddle-coverings.

221 With each annual rainy season the shepherd tribes move south into the gravelly desert some 200 miles or more from the Euphrates. They divide into two waves when they reach the Bátin valley, one wave moving down through Kuwait state into the Kuwait Neutral Zone and beyond,* and the other going down as far south as the Tawál al Dhafir and Tawál al Mutair, or scattering over the Al Hajara region, which speaking roughly lies along both sides of the Iraq–Sa'udi Arabia frontier line.

Speaking generally, but this is not an invariable rule, the Zauba–Bani Salama, Ghazzi, Budur, Ghazalat and Zaiyad tribes keep to the west of the Bátin while the Sharaifat, Juarín, Bani Malik, Albu Salah and 'Aunan pass through Kuwait and south along the coast of the Persian Gulf.

721 The best of the shepherd tribes from a fighting point of view are
713 perhaps the Budur, the Juarín and the Ghazzi, whose Shaikhs Shirshab al Sahan, Nasir al Gubaih (son of the more famous Husain al Gubaih of Great War days) and Manshad al Habaiyib I count among some of my oldest friends of the southern desert. I had many a political

* In bad years the southern limit is Jahrah at the head of the Bay of Kuwait.

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tussle with them in the old war days when I held charge of the Suq al Shuyukh and Nasriyah areas. All are good fighters and of tough breed, and all carry the very latest type of rifle or carbine with an abundance of ammunition.

The shepherd tribes leave the Euphrates about the 15th October of each year, and provided early rains (*wasm*) have fallen in the southern desert, move slowly south grazing on the new green shoots and drinking from rain pools or *khabras* which, owing to the rock formation of the subsoil almost everywhere in North-East Arabia, sometimes lie for weeks before drying up.

During February and March the shepherd tribes cover the whole of the area lying to the south and west of Kuwait, and quite one of the pleasantest features of Kuwait life at this time of the year is to meet the large number of pretty shepherd lasses who are to be seen laughing happily and wending their way along the roads which converge on to the town.

These girls are usually accompanied by droves of small donkeys laden to the ground with curdled milk in skins, wool and firewood which they bring into Kuwait to sell, or again in the evening taking home their daily purchases of food, brightly coloured cloth, etc.

They are a very happy community and as a rule prefer to travel without their men folk, who stay with the tents or tend the flocks.

These *Hukra* lasses, as they are locally called, all go unveiled in contrast to the Kuwait Badawin women. Being for the most part pretty and good looking, they usually have a crowd of town youths buzzing round the spot where they congregate to sell their wares. Like most of their sisters nearer home, they can drive the shrewdest of bargains, and give as good as they get in verbal exchanges.

The women with babies either carry them on their backs on the march, or tuck them into a saddle-bag thrown across a donkey's back. The wee faces peering out just above the edge of the roomy bag are a most comical sight.

In general appearance these shepherd girls, like their men folk, are strong and lusty, and rarely ride their donkeys. They walk twelve to fifteen miles a day when visiting Kuwait, and on the same day in the evening return some six or seven miles out of the town, sleep on the side of the road when dark falls, and at dawn continue their

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484 way back to their tents. No one ever molests them, and it would go
462 hard with a mere man who attempted to interfere with a bevy of these tribal lasses on the march.

Hukra tents are not pitched close together, but in ones and twos,
361 each in sight of a neighbour. This enables one tent dweller to come
233 to the assistance of his neighbours all round him if necessary. The result is that large areas of desert country are dotted as far as the eye can see with little specks of two or three or even one black tent. The above method of scattering widely is in vogue only if peace reigns in the land. It is healthy, sheep are not crowded together, and grazing is systematically gone over.

[722] Were there to be war, or even a rumour of war in the air, the shepherd tribes would either concentrate closer together by day and night, or make for home again.

221
233 The return to Iraq of the shepherd tribes takes place usually about the end of April or early in May when water becomes scarce and sheep have to get back to the Euphrates before the desert grazing dries up.

439 Just as they have made wool, butter, milk, mutton, etc., cheap in Kuwait, so with the money realised they take home rice, sugar, coffee, clothes for their women and girls, and presents for those who stayed behind. Their return home, therefore, though bad for Kuwait, is a joyous one for their relatives on the Euphrates.

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648
431 To ensure good treatment for themselves in Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia, the Hukra pay *dhabîhah wa manîhah*, consisting of gifts of young lambs, to the local Governor or Ruler, and they also pay *zakât* voluntarily, if unrest is in the air and they want to receive serious protection from possible raiders. The Sa'udi Government officials are stern in the enforcement of *zakât*, but the Shaikh of Kuwait, whose state derives benefit from the Iraq shepherds, always waives his right to it.

836 Kuwait is definitely the poorer for the annual departure of the Hukra, and their return the following year is always looked forward to by the majority of the people. Not the least to be missed are the merry laughing faces of these daughters of the Muntafiq on the Jahrah–Kuwait road, who joke with everybody and miss no opportunity of displaying pretty eyes and dainty tattoo-covered chins and

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Muntafiq

The Muntafiq League

water), and so forth, until he had completed the tale of the road. Armed with the information he had gained, he led the Bani Malik to Safwan, where they overthrew and almost exterminated the 'Ajwad, sparing only a handful of men and forty women, or according to another version of the story forty women with child. The remnant, whatever may have been its composition, took refuge in the Hawizah marshes, but returned after a short period to 'Iraq, where they were joined by the Budur, who claim descent from the Ruwalah 'Anizah, the Shuraifat, a tribe of Southern Arabian origin (Qahtan), and the Juwarin, long settled in Mesopotamia. Shabib, by virtue of his relationship with the Al Khusaubah and his military powers, had assumed the leadership of the Bani Malik, and to him the 'Ajwad addressed themselves with proposals of peace. He demanded for the killing of his father no payment of blood money, but that he should be accorded the honours of overlord, that they should kiss his hand when they approached him, and that he should not be required to rise in response to their salutation. To this stipulation, which was regarded as an instance of high generosity, they agreed, and the Bani Malik and 'Ajwad, united under one chief, made so formidable a combination that they attracted a third ally, the Bani Sa'id, a tribe of the Jazirah. These three formed and still form the Muntafiq league.

The three divisions as we know them are not tribes, but tribal groups. The Bani Sa'id, who are by far the smallest, appear to be the most cohesive. Their district lies in little-known country in the desert between the Tigris and the Gharraf. Though they own some cultivation of the tail of the great canals they would seem to approach the Badawin more closely in their mode of life than is the case with the other two members of the league, and their constituents have the character of sections of a homogeneous tribe rather than that of independent units gathered into a confederacy.

The 'Ajwad are the least compact. Their country is on the Gharraf, and the Euphrates above and below Nasiriyah; they are therefore much more accessible. They are riverain Arabs of the Shawiyah type (Shawawi), half-settled cultivators and half-nomadic owners of flocks. They spend the late winter, spring and early summer in the desert with their sheep, leaving some of their number in the reed villages by the rivers to till the fields..

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Muntafiq

villages by the rivers to till the fields. They have no camels but use donkeys as their transport animals; the presence of large herds of donkeys is as distinctive of Shawiyah encampments in the desert as is that of grazing camels indication of the proximity of Badawin tents. By the Badawin they are regarded with not over-tolerant contempt, and though some of the Shawiyah, notably the Budur, are bold fighting men, no true nomad would intermarry with them. They have been dubbed felicitously in English Donkey Badawin

The 'Ajwad seem to have lost almost entirely the sense of confederacy. A member of one of their component tribes, if asked to define himself, would invariably give the name of his tribal unit, though when questioned more closely he would admit that his tribe formed part of the 'Ajwad as opposed to the Bani Sa'id or the Bani Malik. In former times, when the Muntafiq coalition was much more completely under the control of the Sa'adun than it is now, the latter appointed the family of Manna, Sunnis of Hijazi origin like themselves, as inferior headmen over the 'Ajwad, for which reason the group is sometimes known as 'Ajwad al Manna. The Manna, who are said to be of Arab stock, still occupy a titular position as chiefs. If a capable member of the family happened to be available he would be the natural leader in battle, and in an assembly of 'Ajwad shaikhs, Zamil al Manna, the present head of the house, would be given the highest place, but they have no executive power or tribal jurisdiction. The Al Wathal, once paramount, are still in existence, but they have fallen into unimportance.

The Bani Malik, though less homogeneous than the Bani Sa'id, are more closely knit than the 'Ajwad. They are mainly cultivators (Filih, Harrathah, Hadhr) and Ma'dan, men of the marsh who live by fishing, by the weaving of reed mats and by the breeding of buffaloes. Just as Zamil al Manna' is nominally leader of the 'Ajwad, so Badr al Rumaiyidh is chief of the Bani Malik, but whereas the Al Manna' are not 'Iraqi tribesmen, the Al Rumaiyidh are the paramount clan of a strong tribe of the Bani Malik, the Albu Salih, to which their real authority is restricted. Outside the limits of the Muntafiq league there are large bodies of the Bani Malik on the lower Tigris and in the Hawizah of common origin with the Bani Malik of the Euphrates. It is probable that at one time all were part of a single entity. Such

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Appendix I

State as far south as the Tawal-al-Mutair (or Junáb), i.e. Safa, Wabra, Jariya Ilya and Jariya Sifla in Sa'udi Arabian territory. 619 101 221

In summer it camps on wells at Jahrah, Um Niga, Subaihiyeh, Tawil and sometimes at Wafra and 'Ark. A number of Rashaida is employed by the Ruler of Kuwait as "Fidawiyah" or paid mercenaries, and all the court falconers are found from the tribe. [795]

Religion—Sunni MALIKI.

The following are the names of sections, with their shaikhs and the number of tents each possess: 619 101

AL 'AJARIMA—Shaikh 'ABDULLA IBN RIMTHAN (30 tents).
AL 'AWANA—Shaikh SA'AD IBN DUGHAIM, 'ABDULLA IBN 'AWAIYID (80 tents).
AL DALUL—Shaikh FAHAD IBN HUJAILAN (30 tents).
AL FAZARIN—Shaikh FALAH IBN HADBAH (30 tents).
AL GHURAIBAT—Shaikh SA'AD IBN MAZAID, AL WUSHAIMAN (60 tents).
AL HIRSHAN—Shaikh MASHA'AN IBN SHALLAL (90 tents).
KA'AMIYAH or CHA'AMIYAH—Shaikh SA'UD IBN QURAINIS (15 tents).
MATAWILAH—Shaikh HAMADAN IBN HUMAIYIR (30 tents).
MUHAIZIMAT—Shaikh SALIH IBN NIMRAN (80 tents).
MUWAIZIRAH—Shaikh SA'UD AL MUWAIZIRI (30 tents).
RAMATHIYIN—Shaikh KAMAN IBN SHUHAIYID (15 tents).
SHAHARA—Shaikh NASIR IBN 'ALI AL SHAHARI (15 tents).
SHUWAIKHAT—Shaikh NASIR IBN HUQTA (20 tents).
Also important sections 'ULAIYAT and 'UTHIBAT.

Corrected up to 21.4.37.

GENERAL REMARKS

This tribe officially belongs to Kuwait and is under nominal control of Ibn Subah. Tribally speaking, however, it is a serf tribe of the great Mutair, much in the same manner as the 'Awazim were of the 'Ajman in the olden days. With the final transference of the Mutair's allegiance from Kuwait to Najd after Shaikh Mubarak's death, the Rashaida were placed in the unfortunate position of being separated from their protectors and allies, and had to try and serve two masters. 641 619

Unlike the 'Awazim, they are very proud of their Mutair connection. They are fine fighters and can always count on Mutair protection if they move into Najd for grazing purposes. The tribe is a poor one and is engaged mostly in camel and sheep rearing. They possess about 9,000 camels and 10,000 sheep. [223]

Not being a Sharif tribe, they can only marry with Non-Sharif tribes such as the 'Awazim. Their women are remarkable for their good looks, 619

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Appendix VII

in war or peace, and are at all times guarded with the greatest care and have their own special herdsmen.

The *Shuruf* can best be compared to the famous *Markab* or "Ark of Ishmael" which goes before the Rawala host when the latter tribe migrates to new regions or marches to war, and which is really nothing but a glorified ladies' camel litter, decked all over with black ostrich feathers (see under chapter dealing with the Tent and its treasures), but held in the deepest reverence by every single man and woman of the tribe.

As in the case of the *Markab*, the *Shuruf* is the rallying point of the tribe if attacked or in difficulties. The herd must be defended at all costs, and the tribe will cheerfully lose all its other camels in a battle or raid provided the *Shuruf* are safe.

In the attack, and especially if such be in the nature of a forlorn hope, the *Shuruf* have the place of honour always and lead the van. No Mutairi ever rides them, and they just move forward in a compact well-trained black mass ahead of the fighting men as if perfectly understanding the game. The latter will follow straight on to victory or death in their wake. The *Shuruf* seem also to know that they afford a sort of moving wall of protection for the footmen in their rear, and never scatter.

In peace time the famous black herd always grazes alone and under specially selected guards, always too as far from the common gaze as possible. It is said that should other strange camels get mixed up with them, the black herd will attack them and drive them out. Nor are the cows of the herd allowed to breed except from their own males.

To-day the *Al Shuruf* are in the hands of the great 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud —King and Lord of Arabia. They were taken away from the Mutair as the most severe punishment that could be meted out to them after Faisal al Duwish's rebellion of 1929–30, and are to-day (1939) most carefully guarded and looked after for the King by the faithful Shaikh Faisal bin Shiblan, head of the Jiblan sept of the great Mutair. Actually the King handed the *Shuruf* over to his brother Muhammad al Sa'ud for safe keeping after the above-mentioned rebellion, but this was a mere formality, for H.M. King 'Abdul 'Aziz' brand adorns the rear off hind quarter of each camel like this, $_{o}^{o}|_{o}$, and the herd remains the King's property, much as in the occident any war flags captured from an enemy are handed over to the King.

As far as I am aware, my wife and I are the only Europeans living who have had the opportunity of setting eyes on this jealously guarded herd and semi-sacred tribal emblem of the Mutair. This was on 7th April and 14th April, 1939, when, by special invitation of His Highness the Shaikh of Kuwait, King Bin Sa'ud sent his private camels numbering seventy-five *Raiyah* or herds, together with the *Shuruf* (some 4,500 all told) into the Araifjan and Shu'aiba districts of Kuwait to graze, the act being a gracious appreciation on the part of Shaikh Ahmad for Bin Sa'ud's good will and

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Appendix VII

825 233 moral assistance rendered at a time when Kuwait was threatened with rebellion and disorder due to the efforts of certain of the Shaikh's enemies to hand over the State to the neighbouring Government of Iraq, and bring about the downfall of the house of Al Subah (autumn and spring of 1938–39).

On the 7th April my wife and I, hearing that the *Shuruf* were grazing at the southern end of the Dhahar ridge and close to Grain wells, made a surreptitious car dash accompanied by Salim al Muzaiyin (Mutairi), and came up with the famous herd shortly before sunset as they were breasting the top of a small rise, on their way to Ibn Shiblan's black tents, on the approach of nightfall. They presented a strikingly pretty sight silhouetted against the setting sun. They marched in a fairly close group, heading the remainder of the King's camels by half a mile or so. No one was about except a herdsman, who told us blandly in reply to our query that the *Al Shuruf* were a day's journey away—nor did any of the guards see us, being as they were on the other side of the rise beating up the stragglers. Being right amidst the herd we got a perfect look at the beautiful black beasts, and recognised the well-known brands of the Al Sa'ud and of the Dushan on them. Having seen what we wanted to see we slipped off north again unnoticed.

On 13th April we arrived at Salim al Muzaiyin's camp near Shu'aiba, intending to spend the night and next day. We had invited five of the Al Subah Shaikhs to dinner. On arrival Salim our man told us that the King's camels were grazing all round him, and that the *Al Shuruf*, which had spent the previous night close to his tents, were grazing over the nearby rise. Lastly, he said that Shaikh Misyar al Shiblan, who was in immediate charge, was waiting in his tent to pay his respects to us. Misyar was rather a wild Jibli, but we gave him dinner that night, and accommodated him in Salim's tent. Determined to see our beautiful black herd of camels once again, we rose early on the 14th April and drove in our car with Salim for about one mile. There in a hollow beneath us we saw the *Shuruf* once again. We had told nobody of our intention, and so as not to attract notice we got out of our car and started walking towards the herd.

I may mention in passing that the surrounding country seemed alive with thousands of other camels, these being the King's herds as well as those of the Shaikh of Kuwait under Al Shaiyah al Jibli.

When still about half a mile from the nearest black camel we heard shouts from an armed man who was fast bearing down on us on a riding camel: we waited for him, and he asked us what we wanted. We replied that we had come to see the *Shuruf*. "They are not here, they are not here," he said, "but away back at Araifjan." He was joined by three other armed men, and lastly by Shaikh Misyar himself, who appeared from nowhere. The latter, when confronted with our request, admitted that the famous black herd was in front of us, but said that he had the strictest orders from King Bin Sa'ud his master to allow no one to approach, much less

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take any photographs. We argued that we were the personal friends of His Majesty and that we felt sure he would feel honoured at the interest we were showing. We also promised not to take any photographs, or even tell a soul that we had seen the *Shuruf* (we, of course, said nothing of the incident of the 7th April).

But Shaikh Misyar was politely adamant, saying that he dared not break the King's commands, even though I had dined him the previous night, and had once saved his Uncle Faisal bin Shiblan's life. However, so as not to hurt my feelings too much, Shaikh Misyar ordered three of the guards to go to the herd and bring back a bowl of milk for my wife and myself. No sooner said than done. We saw one of the famous herd milked, though some way off, and we partook of the wonderful frothy bowl with great relish.

At least we can say that we have drunk the milk of the far-famed *Al Shuruf*. Nor shall we forget the incident or the great honour done to us in the eyes of the Mutair.

APPENDIX VIII

INSECTS OF KUWAIT

By B. P. Uvarov, D.Sc.
British Museum (Natural History)

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The territories of Kuwait and, indeed, of the whole Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, are practically unexplored with regard to the insect fauna, and on it there exist only a few scattered records. It was, therefore, of great scientific interest for collections made there by Mrs. H. R. P. Dickson and Miss Zahra Dickson to be worked out by the specialists. The following list is based on the determinations made mostly by Mr. G. E. Bryant, of the Imperial Institute of Entomology, and by myself. All the specimens were most generously presented by the collectors to the British Museum (Natural History) and placed in its collections.

It will be seen that when collecting insects special attention was paid to Orthoptera, following my special request, and the results can be considered most gratifying. Indeed, a number of species has been found that had not been previously known from anywhere in the Arabian peninsula, and a new species was discovered, representing a remarkable new genus. It was even more interesting to obtain a long list of species definitely known to occur on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, and some of these records are of special value in extending the known range of specific distribution.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Appendix XXIII

APPENDIX XXIII

Ref. Chapter XL (bottom of p. 507)

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "SYPHILIS"

On May 26, 1949 Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib of the Mutair (Buraih section) told me that the dried leaves of the three well-known desert plants

(a) Geysúm (*Artemisia herba*)
(b) 'Ashiyeh (*Artemisia sp.*)
(c) Al Harmal (*Rhaqya stricta Dene*)

were used with very good effect by the Badu for syphilis, when smoked in a pipe.

APPENDIX XXIV

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel food, p. 416

In the vicinity of the great wells of Hafar al Bátin, and in the Wadiyán region (Iraq–Sa'udi Arabian frontier) the "Geysúm" bush is only eaten by camels, when they first leave the vicinity of wells in the autumn. It is never eaten in the early spring.

Sheep will, on the contrary, eat the "Geysúm" bush throughout the summer.

Authority Shaikh Nijir ibn Sultán al Muhailib. (Mutair Buraih), May 25, 1949.

APPENDIX XXV

Ref. Chapter XXXIII, p. 443

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "MANÍHA"

The term "Maníha" when used alone and not with "Dhabíha", means the loan of a ewe and lamb by one person to another who requires milk in his tent. Such ewe is returned when she has no longer any milk. Such friendly loans are commonly made by men rich in flocks and herds to their poorer tent neighbours or friends.

It is important to know this custom.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Appendix XXVIII

APPENDIX XXVIII

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel Wasms

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The following additional Wasms should be noted.

1. Under *Mutair Tribe* after (*s*), p. 423, add:
   (*t*) Al Ammásh (Al Ruaichib)
   On left cheek

2. Under *Bani Khalid* after (*b*), p. 425, add:
   (*c*) Ibn Mendíl
   On right thigh

3. Add (13) *Murra Tribe:*
   (*a*) Nigadan (Al Mugasse)
   Low on right thigh
   (*b*) Mohomed ibn Salim
   On left side of neck

APPENDIX XXIX

KHITAB SULAIMAN BIN DAUD

(End of Chapter XLV)

The method of confining ants to their nest by means of Solomon's Magic Circle, was confirmed to me on April 15, 1948 by Salim al Murri and Saleh al Uhaimir, both trackers of the Murra tribe employed by H.H. the Shaikh of Kuwait when I visited their camp and was chatting to them and their womenfolk over a cup of coffee. 789

Both assured me that the circle did work but (*a*) that the circle must be made anti-clockwise, and that the ants could only be released if the motion of making the circle was again gone through, but this time clockwise. That this was always done when about to strike camp, as then the ants had to be released.

(*b*) The circle could only be made effective by the grown-up children (male and female) of first cousins. For other people to draw the circle was useless, and the ants would take no notice. (*c*) Food had to be given to the imprisoned ants at noon and sunset each day.

178 they must leave their rifles at a police post, but once they have climbed
619 back on to the escarpment they are free to do as they like, subject only to the restraints of tribal life. Similarly, while they are inside the towns of Inner Oman, where the Imam has established law and order, they must behave themselves, but once they are outside the walls they can only be controlled by diplomacy and not by force, while everywhere in the Dhahirah of Northern Oman jealous and often hostile sheikhs vie with each other in the lavishness of their hospitality and the scale of their gifts to win the support of the Badu. There no sheikh can enforce his authority over the tribes, and none of them would try, lest by doing so he should alienate their support in time of need.

133 To understand the Badu character and way of life you must under-
312 stand the land in which they live—a harsh, unforgiving land which conditions their lives so that they, too, are hard, hard in body and mind. They live in the desert—that is to say, in country which, judged by ordinary standards, is waterless. This applies equally to the barren, broken limestone mountains near the southern coast, to the flat, featureless gravel plains, and to the sands of the Empty Quarter itself, where the mountainous dunes, some of which are 700 feet high, run one behind the other for hundreds of miles. There are, of course, some wells in this desert, but they are usually few and far between; the Sa'ar country has two permanent wells in it, Manwakh and Zamakh; the Manahil country has three or four. Thus in an area the size of Norfolk there might be two wells. I have myself twice travelled four hundred miles between wells. I admit that this is exceptional, but Badu have raided across these very stretches of desert, riding out and back again without touching at a well. You can think what this means when you realize that this distance is twice as far as from Dover to Edinburgh, and that these Arabs travelled at a speed of three miles per hour, relying only on the water which they could carry with them without foundering their camels, and that the camels themselves did not get a drink until they returned a month later.

137 It seldom rains in this desert; in many parts it has not rained for five
221 years, and I have been in places where not a drop of rain has fallen for twenty-five years. By Badu standards a couple of hours' heavy rain in the
132 year means a good year. They cannot, therefore, cultivate, but have to
233 depend for their livelihood on their small herds of camels, and in quest of the pasturage which springs up after rain they travel great distances. Most of this vegetation is not grass, but desert plants like the succulent yellow-flowering tribulus and heliotrope, and in the sands these plants will remain green after a few days' rain for as long as three and four years. But they do not last so long on the gravel plains and among the hills; in such places, however, grow scattered trees and bushes, such as the
233 acacias, which afford valuable pasturage. Where there is rich grazing the
262 Badu can remain for six and even nine months without water, for their camels get all the moisture they require from these green plants, and camels' milk suffices the Arabs themselves for food and drink. In the heat of summer the camels must be watered once a week, and if there is no well near the grazing on which they have wintered they must move back on to a permanent well and graze their herds as best they can on the

drought-resisting trees and shrubs, which will at any rate keep them alive. 233
Under such circumstances the milk supply gets very short and the Arabs 262
suffer much from hunger, for milk is their staple food. Among the Badu in South-Western Arabia dates are a rare luxury, meat is seldom eaten except by guests for whom an animal has been slaughtered, and all grain has to be purchased in the villages.

You can see that it is a hard life with absolutely no margin. Hunger 132
and thirst, heat and cold—bitter cold. Few people realize how cold it can be in these Arabian deserts. In summer the temperature rises to 120° in the shade, and there really is no shade, and the only water which these Badu have to drink is brackish and tastes like a strong dose of Epsom salts. In winter it is nearly freezing, and at night a herdsboy will scrape [513]
a shallow trench in the sand, lie down naked in it and then cover himself 721
with his shirt. It certainly is a desperately hard life, and it is made even harder by continuous raiding and counter-raiding. Everyone is living the whole time in a state of suspense with his rifle in his hand and his eyes scanning the horizon. A herdsman sees some mounted Arabs in the distance and immediately collects his camels, which are never very numerous, and drives them off as fast as he can, for no one can afford to take any chances. If the people he has seen are friends they will signal [201]
by throwing up sand into the air or send one person forward alone waving [203]
his headcloth. Then, having established contact, they will ride over, ask the news—for Badu are always anxious to have the latest news—and let their mounts graze while they refresh themselves with the milk which the herdsman provides. Generally, to keep their herds alive at all on the scanty grazing, the Badu must scatter widely, and can put up no resistance against a raiding party which may be as many as two hundred strong. All they can do is to try to drive off their camels at the first hint of danger and, if they are robbed but themselves escape, collect their friends and set off in pursuit. The raiders consequently work fast, gather what spoil they can, and disappear. Sometimes, especially if the raid has failed and if [628]
they are pursued, they have a desperate time getting back, and, should there be a blood feud between the two tribes, they can expect no mercy if they are overtaken. I heard of one party of raiders who had raided four hundred miles, had failed to get any loot, and who, to keep themselves alive on their way back, had cut off and eaten the tails and ears of their camels. Sometimes a pursuit party from the steppes follows the raiders far into sands which are unknown to them. Should a strong wind get up and blow out the tracks, they may be lost, unable to follow the raiders to the wells which lie ahead, and unable to retrace their own tracks home. Yet ordinarily the Badu are not afraid of thirst. More than once [271
they have told me that in winter it would be hunger, not thirst, which 261]
would kill them if they were left without food or water. This is an instance of Badu exaggeration, but I have met Arabs who have lasted as long as seven days without either food or water.

Many of them are wonderful trackers, for their very lives depend upon 151
the accuracy with which they can read such signs. I remember once when 721
I was riding across the desert with some of them how we came upon some half-obliterated marks in the sand. One of our party turned aside and

22:Raswan T-5(ca. 1911-1930)1930 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

group of the Weld 'Ali, for instance, in certain winters wander with their powerful allies, the Ruala, southward to the neighborhood of Teyma', returning north again after their mares and camels have foaled.

The third great natural feature is the chain of hills (Ar-Rawaq, Abu Rijmen, and Jebel Bishri) which stretches in an almost straight line from Damascus to Deyr az-Zor on the Euphrates. Sheep-breeding Bedouins are found north of these hills, camel breeders to the south. The sheep breeders occupy a steppe-like rolling country, rich in pasture which lasts into the beginning of summer. Settled areas are nowhere far distant to east and west, and the tribes occupying these steppes will undoubtedly be the first to establish permanent settlements. As far north as Tel el-Abyadh near the Turkish frontier the writer has noticed members of the Fed'an intermarrying with settlers of that region. Mijhem ibn Mheyd, chief of the Fed'an, owns many villages in Syria, and several thousand of his Bedouins are even now at work in the fields, although the majority prefer tending live stock to plowing. The Tayy, one of the purest, most aristocratic Bedouin tribes from central Arabia, are now found in Mesopotamia, far north near Nisibin, where they seldom fold their tents, pack them on camels, and carry them to new pasture grounds. Half of their tents are "permanently" fixed, with reed and clay walls supporting the goat's-hair canvas. Indeed, the Tayy have become a degenerate people!

The Bedouins with the largest pasture circles (those bordering on the Nafud) will probably survive longest as true nomads. These are the great camel breeders, the Ruala and some of the Shammar, who hold the vast tracts of Al-Hamad and Al-Wudiyan between the Nafud and the northern line of hills.

Political Changes

If the problematical political frontiers between the British and French spheres of influence in northern Arabia are maintained, changes may be expected in the migration territories of the Bedouins. The following, in my opinion, might well take place. The tribes whose territories are now cut by the 30th parallel would split, part of them remaining in Ibn Sa'ud's domains and the rest migrating to the north. The continuance of yearly warfare (for the most part in the spring) between the Zana Muslim (Ruala and Weld 'Ali) and other 'Aneze tribes would finally result in an agreement that would assign to the Ruala who remain in Syria the entire Hamad and western part of Al-Wudiyan. The rest of Al-Wudiyan would be given to the 'Amarat, and the steppe country north of the hills to the Fed'an and Sba'a. First the Fed'an and then the Sba'a would gradually become

101 Hadhramaut we had crossed the Sa'ar plateau From the
619 to this last well upon the desert's edge, where
622 we had heard that Bin Maiqal and his Bin Ma'aruf section of the Sa'ar were camped. Normally he and his clan lived in the desert around Najran, and of recent years they had acknowledged Ibn Saud as their overlord; but they had been involved in a raid upon the Yam and had fled south to seek refuge among their kinsmen from the animosity of that great tribe and the wrath of Ibn Saud. The desert was full of fear and everywhere the talk was of raids and counter-raids, of deaths and of looted stock.

233 In the sharp cold of the winter's morning
● we rode down the valley beyond the well, past the milch herds of the Bin Ma'aruf. The herdboys had just driven them forth to graze from their couching-place around the tents, and my companions spoke appreciatively of their condition, calling each other's attention
514 to their finer points. The Sa'ar had news of our approach, for a party of them had ridden

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camels to draw up the water, but the southern Bedu always lift it by hand. They fasten a leather bucket, holding about four gallons, to either end of the rope which runs over the pulley, so that as one bucket is drawn up full the other descends empty. Men and women draw together on the well-ropes, four or five to each rope, singing in chorus as they work. We had not been here long before the camel herds arrived and the serious work of watering began. Great leather troughs supported on crossed wooden hoops were set up by each family around the well. Soon there was no room for more watering parties, and late-comers had to wait their turn. The buckets rose and fell and were tipped into the troughs about which the thirsty camels pushed and thrust while their calves frolicked around. Shouting herdboys, stripped to the waist, ran in and out among them, driving away camels which did not belong to them, and restraining the more impatient of their own. Others scratched the hind-quarters of their favourite beasts, while they sang them their watering songs to induce them to drink deep. When they had drunk they were couched nearby, to be watered again later in the day, before being driven back to pasturage. Round the well-mouth women filled their water-skins, which then lay swollen and quivering upon the ground, guarded from the trampling feet of the camels by shrill-voiced little girls, clad only in a leather fringe around their waists. Few of the women were veiled and all joined freely in the constant jests and laughter. Among them was a tall girl of startling beauty. She had come down to the well early in the day, carrying a water-skin and accompanied by her young sister. The centre of a happy laughing group of lads, she dallied here till the evening.

A family of Sa'ar from off the mountains were camped under an overhanging cliff nearby, and they bade us join them and drink coffee. Kinsmen of the Bin Ma'aruf, they yet differed from them in their dress and way of life. They were indigo-dyed loincloths and wraps around their shoulders, as is the fashion among the Southern Bedu, whereas the Bin Ma'aruf were clad like the Northern Arabs in long white shirts whose pointed sleeves fell nearly to the ground. They were returning to their homes in Raidat al Sa'ar, a two days' journey to the south. Pseudocrops of sorghum and beans are grown there in a shallow valley, guarded by numerous stone-built forts and watch-towers, which look out across the desolate rocky plateau. Raidat is seldom visited by other Arabs, for it is the very stronghold of the Sa'ar, who have an evil reputation for treachery.